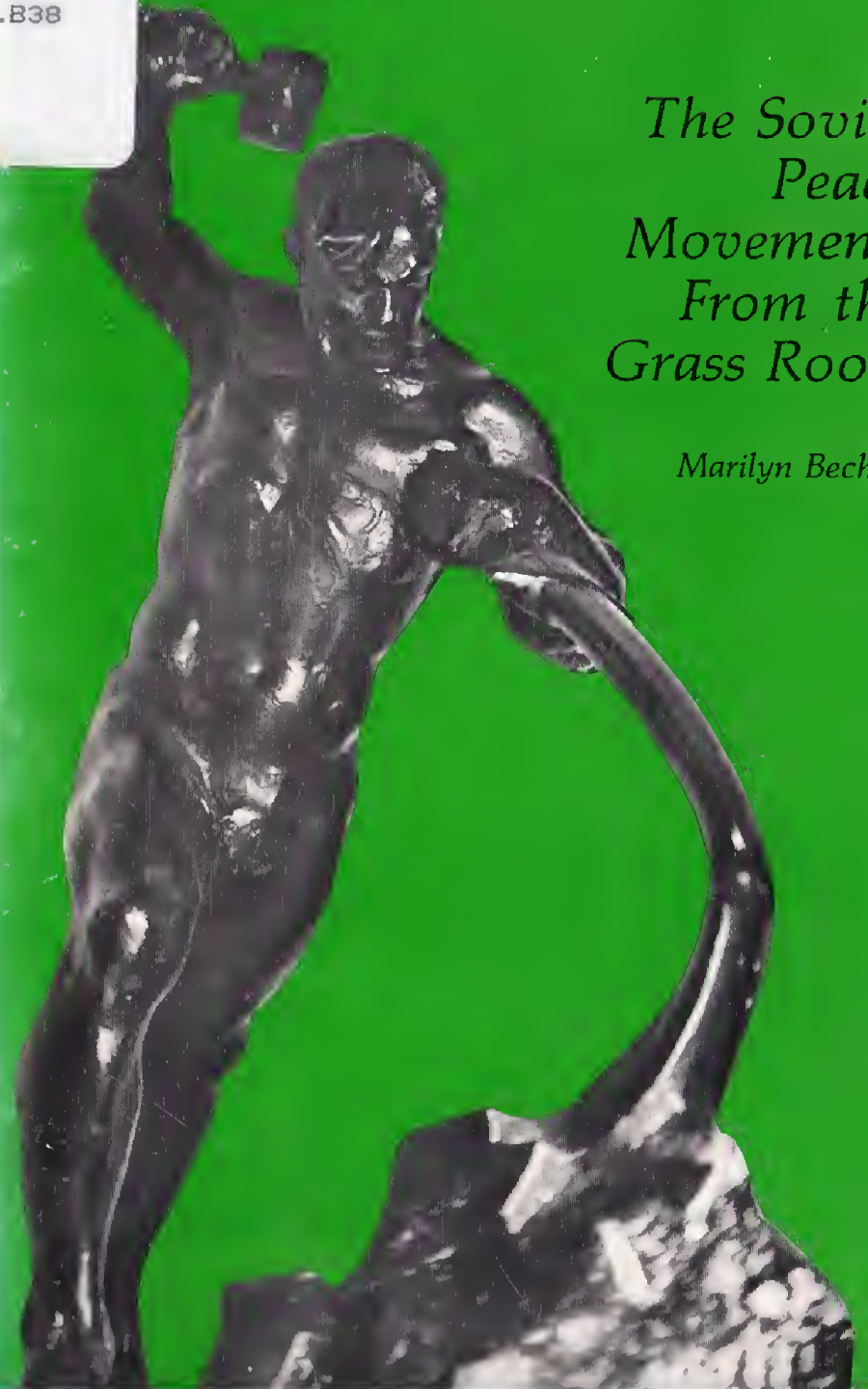


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ards into Plowshares

*The Soviet
Peace
Movement:
From the
Grass Roots*

*by
Marilyn Bechtel*



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*National Council of American-Soviet Friendship
1984*

About the Author

SINCE JANUARY 1977, MARILYN BECHTEL HAS BEEN EDITOR of New World Review, bimonthly magazine specializing in US-Soviet relations, the socialist countries, developing nations, peace and national liberation movements. Prior to joining the NWR staff in 1975, she was a medical writer and journalist.

She has traveled in, and written about, the Soviet Union including its Central Asian republics, Mongolia, Viet Nam, Kampuchea (Cambodia) and Afghanistan. She has spoken on these topics and on US-USSR relations, before many groups in various parts of the country, and has appeared on radio and television.

Ms. Bechtel has been a member of the National Board and Executive Committee of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship since 1977, and has served as Secretary of the Board since 1979.

Her most recent visit to the Soviet Union took place in June 1984, when she made an intensive study of the Soviet peace movement. In addition to Moscow, she traveled to Ashkhabad (the capital of Turkmenia), Tbilisi (the capital of Georgia) and three cities in the Ukraine, Kiev, Donetsk and Poltava.

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Preface

ONE OF THE MAJOR NEW DEVELOPMENTS ON THE US — AND the world — scene is the emergence of a very broadly based peace movement, committed in a serious and determined way to disarmament and a peaceful, just world. This movement has come to understand that these aims can only be obtained by a radical reduction of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. There are today more and more serious contacts between US peace organizations and the public organizations of the USSR than ever before. But even many politically active Americans are unaware of the extent and importance that the peace movement has among the majority of the Soviet people.

After the extreme and unprecedented hostility of the present Administration toward the Soviet government, the most serious obstacle to achieving a new period of detente is the slanted and scanty coverage of the USSR in the US news media. This lack of information and the misinformation makes attaining a consensus on a rational and realistic policy for peace very difficult to achieve. An informed objective public debate on issues of peace is prerequisite to the achievement of "a new foreign and military policy."

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship is attempting to fill the information gap in a modest way with a series of publications conveying the reality of Soviet policy on the issues of war and peace. The first was Daniel Rosenberg's "Swords into Plowshares"; a chronological listing of Soviet peace proposals since 1917 (1982, updated 1983). Shortly, the Council will publish an in depth essay by the same author on the Soviet record of treaty observance.

The present work addresses a crucially important but widely misunderstood and shockingly under- and mis- reported reality of Soviet life: its peace movement. Although hatred of war and a firm commitment to a peaceful future are practically universal feelings among the Soviet people, the occasional references to such issues by our media customarily dismiss, belittle or misrepresent this tremendous reality. The usual charges are that this movement is an artificially and officially orchestrated display for government policy which is itself hypocritical, that it is an example of *Nine-*

teen *Eighty-Four*-style thought control, that it does not engage or represent the real sentiments of the Soviet people, and that many authentic peace activists are villified and persecuted if they step outside the bounds of what is officially sanctioned.

In an attempt to respond to these charges, and to the genuine puzzlement with which peace-loving Americans contemplate their Soviet counterparts who live and work — and demonstrate — within a very different political, social and economic system, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship sponsored a three week visit by three experienced US journalists from diverse backgrounds to look for themselves at actual local peace activities in three equally diverse Soviet republics; Georgia, Turkmenia and the Ukraine. The author of the present work, Marilyn Bechtel, is both editor of *New World Review*, a magazine devoted to foreign affairs and Secretary of the Council. This trip was her fourth visit to the Soviet Union. She has also visited and reported on events in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan.

The main focus of this book is on the view from below; how the Soviet peace movement functions at the grassroots. The author has traveled through many parts of the Soviet Union, recording her impressions of conversations with Soviet people from many different walks of life. To balance the picture there are also descriptions of the public organizations through which peace activities are carried out. Finally, there is a brief discussion of the role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, whose influence is critical in many areas of Soviet life and certainly to the peace movement. This last chapter is the only one not embodying the immediate experiences of the trip, which took place in June, 1984.

Questions will, of course, remain, and it would take a textbook (which does not, so far as I know, exist in this country) to address them. Soviet society on all levels, both public and private, functions in a collective, co-operative way quite different from our own. The understanding of human rights as flowing from the right to life and livelihood, the internationalist perspective on world affairs and, above all, the trauma of their most un-exemplified experience of war and occupation make for, to put it mildly, a distinctive outlook and way of life. Visits to the USSR and acquaintance with Soviet people are necessary to give this story its proper setting.

But what is common to both US and Soviet citizens quite outweighs what is different. Open-minded and concerned people come away from such a visit with an enduring and vivid sense of our common humanity, common needs and concerns. Americans leave the USSR with a surprising discovery of the depth of interest in and concern for the USA among the Soviet people. It is the aim of this book to disseminate these impressions, and to help equip the peace movement in this country to engage in the task which we must initiate for the welfare of all the world's peoples: understanding through dialogue, then real disarmament leading to peace, justice and progress for all.

Alan Thomson
Executive Director, NCASF
October, 1984

Introduction

FOR MANY YEARS THE PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRY HAVE BEEN increasingly disturbed about the continuous escalation in the danger of accidental or purposeful initiation of a nuclear holocaust. When a President of the United States jokes about "legislation to outlaw Russia forever," and wisecracks that "the bombing begins in five minutes," people have reason to be concerned about their government's intentions, and about the world outlook it is seeking to promote.

Such concerns have contributed greatly to the growth of the US peace movement, which has brought together increasing numbers of workers, farmers, church members and professionals, to support such issues as the nuclear freeze, no first use, and a complete nuclear test ban, and to oppose the introduction of new weapons systems such as the Trident, MX and space weaponry, as a prelude to the vital process of nuclear disarmament.

But in order for the US peace movement to develop to its full potential, it is essential for Americans to understand as much as possible about the Soviet Union, including who makes and influences its foreign policy, and how the Soviet people relate to their government's decisions in this field.

In June 1984, I traveled to several republics of the USSR, together with two other US journalists, to talk with rank and file workers and farmers and with leading public figures about these issues. The cities and regions we visited varied greatly in history and cultural tradition. In addition to Moscow, they included Ashkhabad, capital of the Soviet Central Asian republic of Turkmenia; Tbilisi, capital of the Caucasian republic of Georgia; Kiev, capital of the Ukraine, and two other Ukrainian cities, Poltava and Donetsk. In each we were received with the greatest possible attentiveness and our hosts made every effort to create the conditions we needed to work successfully.

This pamphlet recounts the discussions and conversations I had and what I learned about Soviet people's feelings and actions concerning issues of war and peace.

It also describes the organizations which focus in various ways on peace, their activities, their relationships with each other and with Soviet

society as a whole.

Arrangements for our visit were made by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship in conjunction with our principal host in the Soviet Union, the USSR-USA Society, an affiliate of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. I wish to express my great appreciation to these organizations, and to the Soviet Peace Committee and Novosti Press Agency, for their assistance during my stay. A very special word of thanks is due Anna M. Bulgakova of Moscow University and Arkady I. Kudrya of Novosti's North American Department, who enabled us to create the conditions for productive work, and who made it possible to overcome the language barrier to the maximum possible extent.

Even several visits to the USSR do not make a person an infallible expert. Nor can every important issue be dealt with satisfactorily within the scope of a pamphlet. I hope very much that this pamphlet will inspire others to go and examine first-hand these issues and developments which affect each one of us in the nuclear age.

Marilyn Bechtel

Encounters: People's Thoughts & Feelings About Peace

ONE IMAGE I WILL REMEMBER ALL MY LIFE: A PAIR OF EYES. Too far away to reveal their color; close enough to pierce with their intensity. They belonged to a woman in a crowd — a short, plain, middle-aged woman in working clothes, a kerchief covering her hair, her whole face vibrant with the concentration of her attention.

The crowd itself was special: workers packing the shop floor at the Old Kramatorsk Engineering Factory, in the Donbas industrial region of the Ukraine. They had come straight from their machine tools to surround the truck bed which served as platform for the lunch-hour rally, part of peace week activities marking the 43rd anniversary of the Nazi invasion during World War II.

The woman stood in the second row, just in front of the platform. So short she stood on tiptoe just to peer between two shoulders, she listened raptly to the words of her fellow rank-and-file workers, the head of the shop, the chairpeople of the trade union, Communist Party organization and Young Communist League, and virtually the first three visitors from the US ever to come to Kramatorsk. The tears which flooded her eyes from time to time failed to dim their glowing intensity.

I wondered what lay behind that intensity: thoughts of relatives killed or crippled by war and occupation? childhood memories of terror and deprivation? worry about new US nuclear missiles a few minutes' flight time away? visions of unspeakable destruction in a nuclear war?

Perhaps all of the above. For if a theme pervaded every human contact in the Ukraine, it was the fusion of bitter memories from forty years ago and grave concern over the world situation today. Conversations on subjects far removed from war and peace could trigger associations so immediate and vivid as to shift the subject abruptly to memories — personal or absorbed from older generations — and urgent pleas for disarmament and peace.

Though their expression seemed particularly intense in the Ukraine, the feelings were the same in Moscow, in Ashkhabad, in Tbilisi.

The Ukraine was entirely occupied by the Nazis, and one out of every

seven people died as a result of the war. In the capital city, Kiev, some 940 public buildings, 6,000 dwellings and over 800 factories were demolished. Its beloved and beautiful main thoroughfare, the Kreshchatik, was completely rebuilt after the war by the volunteer labor of thousands of Kievans. Many cities, including Poltava, suffered destruction of as much as 80 per cent of their housing and public buildings. Donetsk, capital of the Donbas industrial region, was devastated. The coal mines of the Donbas were flooded. Mining equipment and facilities, including the power supply, had to be completely restored.

That history ran like a thread through every discussion, as did a counterpoint: warm recollections by veterans of meetings with people from the US, and friendly feelings generally toward the people of our country.

Understandings Clouded by Cold War

Dr. Vladimir A. Delva, director of Poltava's Institute of Medicine and Stomatology, has been head of the Poltava Region's Peace Committee for ten years. During World War II he fought all the way to Berlin as a rank-and-file soldier. He told us his meetings with US soldiers there were among the most vivid of his wartime experiences. A large, well-built man now in his mid-60s, Dr. Delva's kind, sensitive face radiated warmth and concern as he recalled those days. "We and the ordinary US soldiers understood each other very well," he said. "When we met anywhere, we promised to oppose all future wars, as our pledge to those who died, and to future generations. But soon the cold war began and great tension developed. We understood then that we must fight to save peace, and that understanding led me to where I am now."

Another Poltava Region Peace Committee activist, air force veteran Ivan Babak, is a Hero of the Soviet Union, the USSR's highest military award. He recalled his experiences as a member of a Soviet crew which flew a US-made plane, shooting down 37 Nazi aircraft. During the war he, too, met US fliers. "Then, we found a lot in common," he said. "Now, alas, much of that is forgotten. My greatest wish is that my three sons and their families will never see the horrors of war as we did."

Ivan V. Ropovka, chairman of the Lenin Collective Farm, 30 miles from Poltava, recalled that when the Nazis were driven out, the farm was completely ruined. "In the winter of 1943-44," he told us, "people lived in dugouts because no materials were available to build anything better. We were left with a dozen cows and a few horses. In the spring the old men, women and children — the only ones still left on the farm — plowed with the help of the cows."

Gesturing with evident pride to the now prosperous farm's sturdy and capacious buildings and ample modern equipment, Ropovka exclaimed, "How can anyone speak about war, when we had to build all over again from scratch? There is so much for all of us to do to make life beautiful — it is a crime to speak of war!"

The chairman indicated a woman standing nearby, her strong, weathered face and wiry frame telling of many years of outdoor work. Olga Denisova and her husband were sent away to Germany as slave labor-

ers and were freed by US troops, he told us. When they returned they helped rebuild the farm. Denisova, leader of a team of vegetable growers, holds the USSR's highest civilian award, the title of Hero of Socialist Labor. Though at 64 she is long past retirement age (55 for women), she continues to work full-time.

Adele Litvinenko, metal worker, deputy to the City Soviet of the industrial city of Makeyevka, near Donetsk — war hero and member of the local peace committee — told us she believes educating children in the spirit of peace is one of the most important activities. She described the total destruction of Makeyevka during the war. "We were winners twice here," she said, "during the war and after the reconstruction." She has visited the United States: "There I saw that despite all the anti-Soviet propaganda and the distortions, the truth about our way of life still comes through sometimes." She said people in the community were distressed recently when a local woman whose son had been killed in World War II wrote to President Reagan urging peaceful relations between our two countries, and received no answer.

Evgeny A. Matsegora, director of the New Kramatorsk Machine Building Plant, told us his father was killed during the war, and his older brother, who was wounded, took part in the first meeting of US and Soviet troops at the Elbe River. A teenager himself, he stayed in Kramatorsk during the occupation. He began his working life as a turner at the plant and as is common among Soviet managerial personnel, he rose through the ranks to his present position. He keeps in very close touch with the workers. "Everywhere you can feel the fear Soviet people have about war," he said. "Each Monday any worker at the plant can visit me to talk about anything — personal problems, wages, housing, or any other issue. Our people are very well informed about both domestic and international developments, and I can tell from all these discussions how deeply they are concerned about peace."

A Midwesterner in Kramatorsk

One of the most interesting encounters of our visit followed our talk with Matsegora. Our hosts in Kramatorsk had remarked that a man from the US had worked for many years at the plant, and that although he had been retired for quite a while, he still lived in the community.

As we prepared to leave, a tall, spare figure rose from a bench in the lobby, a broad smile lighting up his face. His English still fluent and as Midwestern as my own despite his long residence in the USSR, Floyd Barnwell told us his story. Like a number of people from the US, he came to the Soviet Union during the 1930s because during the Great Depression he could not find a job at home. After much soul-searching and a brief return home, he settled in the Soviet Union and became a citizen. During World War II he fought in the Red Army and was wounded. After recovering he was discharged and moved to Kramatorsk to work in the plant. His wife is Ukrainian. His two daughters both have good jobs as technological specialists, and he and his wife live comfortably on their pensions. He has kept in touch with relatives in the United States.

I asked Floyd Barnwell how the people he knows feel about peace issues. "The overwhelming majority of Soviet people I know or know about support the government's proposals and what it is doing in foreign policy, because they have lived through the First World War, the Revolution, the Civil War, and the Second World War," he replied. "Everything is as clear as crystal to them."

His voice breaking with emotion, he continued: "I have thought so many times, is there no way to get the truth to the people who are misled in the United States? They can hear our radio, but they read the American papers, they see American television, and these things outweigh the truth when they hear it!"

A Native of Siberia

Though its impact was greatest on the western regions of the Soviet Union which were occupied by the Nazis, effects of the war were felt throughout the country, even in far-off and sparsely settled Siberian areas such as Evenkia, east of the Yenisey River.

The small nationality inhabiting this region in many ways resembles some Native American peoples. Although these people were dying out at the time of the 1917 revolution, the population has increased significantly since. Today there are about 26,000 people of Evenk nationality.

Alexandra Kudrya, an Evenk now living in Moscow, told us that even from the very small village where she lived as a child, forty men went to the war. Though her father, an outstanding hunter, was exempted because furs were needed by the army, his four younger brothers, as well as her mother's youngest brother, were called up. Only one of the five survived.

"Now, as an adult," she said, "I often think how difficult it was for our people to fight in the front lines. At that time many did not know Russian very well. I think it was not difficult to kill these peaceful men. Of course, the Nazis didn't think that if they invaded our country, all its nationalities would rise up to defend it."

Alexandra Kudrya is now a senior scientific researcher at the Institute of National Schools in Moscow, and holds the degree of candidate (equivalent to a doctorate in the US). She told us that the institute's staff includes people of 66 nationalities, who are helping to preserve and develop the languages of the USSR's smaller nationalities by preparing textbooks and other materials for school-children.

She includes stories and poems with peace themes in the textbooks she prepares. "I recently wrote a little story of my own and included it in a book for six and seven year olds," she said. "It goes like this: 'Peace, it is the sky; Peace, it is the sun; Peace, it is the trees and the forest; Peace, it is you yourself. Why is it you, yourself?'"

"I cannot imagine the possibility of even a small people disappearing from the surface of our earth," Kudrya emphasized. "It is very important that our children, our grandchildren, will see the same sun we see, and breathe the same clean air we breathe. And so all peoples must do their best to preserve peace in the world."

"Everyone among our people understands that it is essential to live in

friendly relations with other peoples, to respect each other. It is very important for every child to have a peaceful attitude within himself, toward everything around him."

What World War II Means to Soviets Now

One of the things which impresses most Western visitors to the Soviet Union is the way people refer to World War II again and again in different contexts, whether in casual conversation or in more formal discussions. Recent Soviet fiction and films continue to deal with World War II topics; many works with more contemporary settings contain substantial references to the war, or feature "flashbacks" showing how war experiences shaped their characters, determining their lives and influencing their actions in the present.

The history of the war occupies a prominent place in the education of schoolchildren and young people of Komsomol (Young Communist League) age. Every community has its war memorials and war museum; museums dealing with other topics always have sections devoted to the war. Traditions of honoring the war dead have been incorporated into observances of occasions of personal importance — most notably the custom that the bride leaves her wedding bouquet at the eternal flame.

Anniversaries of the liberation of areas occupied by the Nazis are major observances. May 9, the anniversary of the defeat of Nazi Germany, is a solemn day of remembrance as well as a national holiday. The entire month of May, and the week following the June 21 anniversary of the Nazi invasion, are focal times for nation-wide peace activities.

It is sometimes difficult for people from the US to understand why Soviet people at all levels, and in all parts of the country, place so much emphasis on the war. Many people in our country, even people old enough to remember the war clearly, seem to regard it as "ancient history," and to feel that the constant references to it by Soviets amount to a form of living in the past, of "trying to build the future looking back over one's shoulder." It is sometimes even said that the emphasis on World War II demonstrates the "militarism" of Soviet society.

It became clear to me, however, that the emphasis on keeping the memory of the wartime experiences alive is a central aspect of Soviet peace education. The devastation during the war serves as a sort of standard measure, a baseline for trying to understand the potential consequences of a nuclear war. The argument is as follows: we know how terrible the suffering was during World War II, and we understand that what would happen in a nuclear war would be infinitely worse; therefore it is absolutely essential to do everything possible to prevent a nuclear war.

It is vital to understand the differences in the wartime experiences of the two nations. The continental United States was never attacked. US war dead totaled about half a million. Twenty million Soviets died in the war, which wiped out 1,700 cities and over 70,000 towns and villages, and destroyed a third of the country's national wealth.

The demographic consequences of the war continue to be felt today, and are projected to echo through future generations, as the number of

young people entering the labor force in this country of labor shortages contracts periodically, reflecting the "missing generation" of children unborn because of the wartime losses.

Thus the events of forty years ago continue to bear directly on Soviet life today. The phrase, "Every family is affected," is not just a cliché. People think with profound emotion of the father, the grandfather, the uncles and aunts they never knew. Premature deaths continue among people who were wounded or who suffered extreme deprivation during the war. Those who were children during the war or who were born soon after, while economic conditions were still very difficult, suffer health consequences as a result.

War Memorials

War memorials vary greatly in the way they give expression to these feelings. Soaring granite petals of a stylized blossom may shelter an eternal flame cupped at their center. A towering pillar may mark the place for miles around. Some of the most tenderly human as well as the most monumental and heroic of Soviet sculptures have been devoted to these war memorials. They are a feature not just of the lands occupied by the Nazis, but of the whole country, for the impact of the war was profound even in areas far removed from the actual fighting.

One of the most moving monuments I have seen is the one near the village of Manavi, in Georgia. It features no heroic sculpture, but only the dead trunks of trees, stark and blackened, against the sky. Manavi sent 600 of its 2,200 people to the war; the names of the three hundred who did not return are inscribed on the memorial's stone tablets.

Wars and their consequences weave a grim thread through the history of Georgia. The vice chairman of the republic's friendship society, Dr. Alexander Alexidze, observed that Georgian culture, with its rich traditions of artistry and craftsmanship, of literature and music, was created in the intervals between the wars that have ridged Georgia's 1,500 year history with scars, among them the six invasions by Tamerlane which devastated the eastern part of the republic during the Middle Ages.

"It is not only the ancient experience of war which we recall," said Dr. Alexidze. "The Nazis stopped just outside our borders. Georgia was not invaded, but the war entered every home. We sent one-fifth of the people of our republic to the war, and 350,000 of them never came back. They were the best and the strongest, and we feel the loss even now. Nothing is more horrible than war — and our people feel a sacred hatred of war."

The same feelings were expressed by the members of one of Tbilisi's Jewish congregations as we talked in the courtyard of their handsome and well-tended synagogue. After a long conversation in which the eight or ten people present had vigorously supported the statements of one member of their board of directors concerning their religious freedom, availability of sufficient religious books and other items, and the lack of discrimination against them, one of their group, a man whose expressive brown eyes lit up his whole being, began to speak of the congregation's concern about the international situation. Not only do they pray for peace during all their ser-

vices, he said, but in the fall of 1983 they joined with all Jewish congregations in Georgia to send a peace petition to the United Nations, and the members of the congregation make it a point to participate in all the peace activities at their workplaces. As he gestured earnestly, he revealed two stumps severed at the wrist and neatly covered in black. I later learned that he had lost his hands in the war.

Museums Small and Large

Commemoration of the war takes different forms in museums of different types. Workers at the Old Kramatorsk Engineering Factory built and maintain the museum which depicts the plant's proud place in the working-class history of the country. From its founding in 1896, the factory's workers and the Communists among them took a leading part in the labor struggles and revolutionary events of the period, and in the building of the new socialist economy. During the war the workers and equipment were evacuated to Siberia; the building at Kramatorsk was razed by the Nazis. In the ensuing occupation 6,000 people died in the city of Kramatorsk, which was the site of a concentration camp. That terrible chapter of history has a place of honor in the museum's displays alongside the plant's heroic role in war production. The museum has become a major attraction for the people of the surrounding area.

Poltava's historical museum occupies a lovely building constructed before the revolution in the "Ukrainian baroque" style as the home of the territorial legislature. By the time World War II broke out this architectural treasure housed some very valuable exhibits. The Nazis looted and burned it to the ground. After the war the structure was rebuilt from plans and photographs preserved in Moscow's archives, and — as has been done time and time again in once-occupied areas — all the old traditional mosaics, murals and wall tiles were lovingly restored.

Now, among the many beautiful exhibits of traditional crafts, clothing, household effects and other historic objects, is the hall memorializing the heroic wartime actions of the Red Army and the partisans, including the highly effective Young Communist underground organization. The museum attracts a quarter of a million people each year, and is a research center for study of the history of the region.

The Ukrainian State Museum of the Great Patriotic War which opened in Kiev in 1981 is an outstanding example of a museum devoted entirely to the events of the war. Its spacious display halls utilize all the contemporary techniques of museum display — paintings and murals, sculptures, photomontages, dioramas, exhibits of weapons and memorabilia strikingly displayed and effectively lit — to convey not just the "facts" but also the atmosphere of horror and heroism which characterized those times. The phases of the war are all represented, from the stubborn resistance of the border guards who bore the brunt of the invasion's first hours, to the fierce defense of the hero cities, the gallantry of the underground movement and the partisans, the Soviet offensive and liberation. The displays culminate in the Hall of Glory, where the sunlight streams in from every side to illuminate the names of 11,613 Heroes of the Soviet Union and 201 Heroes of Social-

ist labor inscribed in gold on the marble walls.

Memories as a Catalyst for Action

The careful, conscious cultivation of the memory of these enormous losses seems to have brought about a profound change in people's thinking, providing a sort of "anti-war inoculation," a vivid consciousness on the part of everyone one meets that action is urgent to avoid a nuclear war, which is its destructiveness would dwarf even the devastation of World War II. The constant education about the war provides "booster shots" to reinforce that psychological immunization.

The result is the widespread participation in a variety of activities by people from all strata of the population.

The week we spent in the Ukraine — June 21 through 27 — was a period of heightened peace activities commemorating the anniversary of the Nazi invasion. In three such activities we were participants, speaking at lunch-hour rallies held right among the machines on the shop floor. These took place at Poltava's Electric Motor plant and at two Donbas enterprises — the Khartsisk Pipe Plant (which makes pipes for the famed Urengoi Natural gas pipeline to Western Europe), and the Old Kramatorsk Heavy Machinery Plant.

In each case the crowd numbered several hundred (though it apparently did not include everyone, for a sprinkling of workers could be seen walking around in the background). The mood was sober and intent; we were greeted with solemn curiosity which was transformed into warm applause following our remarks. In Kramatorsk the crowd surrounded us all the way to the parking lot, with individual workers urging us to convey to their US counterparts their fervent wishes for peace and friendship between our two peoples.

We found activities as varied as the people who engaged in them; many were related to people's work interests. Some will be detailed here; others will be discussed in the following chapters.

The physicians and medical students at the Poltava Institute of Medicine and Stomatology, like those at Donetsk's Institute of Trauma and Orthopedic Medicine, had helped gather signatures on the Appeal of Physicians Against Nuclear War, which was then sent to the Fourth Congress of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War in Helsinki in the spring of 1984. Students at the Poltava Institute meet regularly with World War II veterans because, as graduating senior Nick Litvinenko told us, "Only by learning about their experiences can we really appreciate peace. When the veterans are gone, we young people must carry this information on."

Dr. Sergey Radlinsky, a recent graduate who is now on the faculty, heads the Institute's Komsomol (Young Communist League) branch. He added that the students have sponsored protest meetings and marches and have sent postcards to the heads of state of countries where the new US missiles are deployed in Europe. "We try to turn each student into a peace activist," he said. "A physician or any health worker must be an internationalist first of all."

According to Ivan Ropovka, members of the Lenin Collective Farm take part in all the activities of the regional Peace Committee. At the farm's schools, he told us, teachers assign students to make drawings for peace. The library puts on exhibits of books about peace, and the movie theater shows films on peace subjects. "We have our own lectures on international affairs here on the farm," he said, "and speakers from the regional Peace Committee come here often, too."

Summing Up: The Ukraine and Georgia

These local activities, and those mentioned in succeeding chapters, contribute to the fabric of peace work throughout the republic as described by the outstanding Ukrainian novelist Oles Gonchar, president of the Ukrainian Peace Committee. In the last several years, he said, activities have centered around supporting the UN Special Session on Disarmament in 1982, and the Prague World Assembly for Peace and Life in 1983. Among the especially troubling issues at the time of our conversation were the new US medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and the Reagan Administration's "star wars" plans to militarize space.

During 1983, Gonchar said, there were 40 million participants in peace actions in the Ukraine (population 50.5 million). In May 1984 there were some 170,000 actions including a demonstration by a quarter of a million people in Kiev on May 5. Children's participation, including essay contests, sidewalk murals and other artistic activities, was so prominent it drew the attention of the Minister of Education and his staff, who spent considerable time talking with the youngsters so that the experience could be shared around the country. It is the Peace Fund, with its republican, regional, community and workplace branches primarily staffed by volunteers, which provides the financial support needed for all these activities.

"People here have their own plans which need peace for their realization, and their own concept of life having nothing to do with war," Gonchar said. "We consider it extremely important to educate people from childhood in a spirit of peace and friendship." Asked how his own work as a novelist relates to his activity with the Peace Committee, Gonchar observed that there can be no more important role for any Soviet writer than to speak for peace and to help people understand each other. That observation is based on personal experience, for Gonchar, too, fought throughout World War II, was wounded twice and decorated repeatedly for bravery.

The situation in Georgia, as described by Dr. Alexidze, was similar: mass meetings and demonstrations, rallies at workplaces, children's activities, a crowd which filled Tbilisi's Square of the Republic. "Our Peace Committee sent an appeal to cities with which Tbilisi has sister relationships — Saarbrücken, Nantes, Edinburgh, Palermo, Innsbruck — urging their people to resist deployment of the Euromissiles," Dr. Alexidze told us. "Unfortunately, deployment has begun. But we must continue to fight against it."

"Our people have a great love and respect for the people of your country," he continued. "We know about your contribution in World War II, and what you are doing for peace today. We receive a lot of information about your activities, and we meet many people from your peace move-

ment here. We know Ronald Reagan doesn't reflect your views. If a public figure says there are more important things than peace, or that there could be a limited nuclear war, that does not reflect the wishes of the American people."

One radiantly sunny summer afternoon we climbed to the monument to Soviet soldiers killed in World War II, which crowns a soaring hillside at Saur Mogila (Saur Grave), southeast of Donetsk. The long, gradually steepening ascent is marked at intervals with memorials to various categories of troops: artillery, infantry, tank troops, air force — each depicted in sculpture. Name after name is engraved in each base. Near the top a dead tree stands exposed to the wind, its limbs wound round and round with red scarves of Young Pioneers, members of the organization of children ages 10 to 15.

Saur Mogila rises from a vast sweep of beautiful countryside stretching off into the haze of distance. Peaceful and still, blanketed in the lush green and gold of meadows, cropland and ripening wheat, this region was the site of an enormous battle which took place at the same time as the great tank battle at Kursk in the summer of 1943. Every step of our ascent intensified the sense of contrast between the bitter memories of those days and the gentle, fertile calm of the present. The people of the region remember — on May 9, our hosts told us, 300,000 people from the Donbas, the Voroshilovgrad region and other nearby areas gathered on the broad plains to commemorate Victory Day.

"This is a place sacred for us," said Zinaida Panieva, a local banker who is the volunteer head of the Peace Fund branch in the nearby town of Sniezhnoye. "After the war everything here was in ruins. Even now farmers and children find traces of the battle from time to time.

"The papers here tell us about your peace movement," she continued. "We see your demonstrations on TV. I think that the common efforts of the people of our two countries will make it possible to win peace."

Her thought was picked up by Alexander Zak, another veteran honored as a Hero of the Soviet Union: "The losses we suffered in those days taught us that we must seek friendship with other peoples. We are doing all we can to build such friendship with the people of the United States. You say most people in your country are for peace. I hope your war veterans share these views. Our desire for peace is not a show. It is our very soul — we have shed too much blood for it to be any other way."

A Ukrainian Journalist On the Importance of Memory

ANNA ANTINOVICH, A JOURNALIST BY PROFESSION AND now the executive secretary of the Peace Committee of the Poltava Region, is of that generation which is too young to have its own distinct memories of the war. She has studied the experiences of that time very closely and feels them to be part of the substance of her own life. The depth of her emotional response to that history was evident in her conversations with us.

As a regional peace movement leader, she feels very strongly the necessity of weaving those experiences into the fabric of the lives of succeeding generations of young people, not to focus their attention on the past, but rather to impart heightened urgency to their concern about the future.

She wrote the following article which appeared in *Poltava Komsomol*, the local youth newspaper, on May 9, 1984, the anniversary of the victory over fascism. Translation is by Dora Perks.

The Earth Will Be Eternal

I am standing among my own people. Grandmothers in dark kerchiefs. Girls in white school pinafores. Old soldiers who brought here to the obelisk their medals and their old wounds, and their not-to-be-forgotten memories. No matter how long the world will exist, how long cherry trees will bloom, how long the Earth will fly through the green, white and rose-colored May storms, the path to the sacred graves of fighters in the Great Patriotic War will not be overgrown.

They returned spring to humanity. They stopped, and with a deadly blow conquered, the vilest force which had ever escaped from hell — from the hell of hatred of humankind, from the hell of monstrous egoism and sadism. They, our fathers and grandfathers, mothers and grandmothers, stood fast and were victorious because they did not lose their humanity and nobility in the difficult time of their ordeals.

Their love for their Fatherland was not diminished, but increased. And their kindness, mercy, hatred towards cruelty, and their readiness bravely to keep anybody nearby from injury were not lessened.

A few days ago I spoke with a veteran from Shisak, Filip Ivanovich Kagal. Together with his wartime brother-soldiers he participated in the motor relay race dedicated to the 39th anniversary of Victory. They went through so many battles, they lived through so many ordeals. But it was not his feats which he recalled, for which he received distinguished awards, and not the most dreadful situations in which he found himself during the war. He recalled something else. He kept returning to one bitter memory.

Byelorussia. A house destroyed by fascist bombs. A dead mother. She had stretched out her hands towards her child – to help, to cover – and then she fell. And the little girl is standing near her and keeps repeating: "Mamochka, you love me so much, why don't you tell me what to do? My finger is torn off. How can I live without a finger? Tell me what to do, Mamochka!"

She was still very small, this girl, and she didn't understand that the war had brought her a wound a thousand times more dreadful than the one on her hand.

Filip Kagal saw such suffering and so many deaths that his heart ought to be hardened forever to pain. It was not hardened. It still hurts. It bleeds as if it were wounded yesterday. And he dreams most often not of the whistle of shells, not of the hell of battle, not even of the faces of friends whom he lost in battle – he dreams of this girl. For forty years he has dreamed. For forty years he has heard her cry, "Tell me what to do, Mamochka!"

"I have grown gray from this dream."

Youth, always remember this gray hair of fathers and grandfathers, of mothers and grandmothers. Youth, never let this happen to you – gray hair from losses, gray hair from inhuman sufferings, gray hair from the grief of the whole nation.

All aggressive wars begin the same way – at first they kill people's memories, then they dress them in soldier's uniforms, and they send them out to kill innocent people, to trample down their land – in the name of conquering "living space," for the sake of the imperial ambition of the leader poisoned with the fumes of chauvinism. And all aggressive wars, sooner or later, also end the same way – "living space" becomes a grave for the dead, and their children curse those who made their fathers dead men, who tore them away from the plow and the machine, from their native home, and sent them to die for injustice.

So that these lessons should never be forgotten, so that the new instigators of war should be stopped by the strong hand of international solidarity, we lift over the world the flag of memory. Memory about the experience of the Soviet people and all humanity in the battle against fascism. Memory about the great victory.

... I am standing among my own people. I am standing on the spring-flowering earth. Yesterday we said that the Earth is eternal, and as long as it will fly in cosmic orbit, the indestructible offshoots of justice and peace will continue to grow. Today we need greater courage, faith and strength, because today we know that even Earth is not eternal. It will die, it will not continue to be the cradle of humanity, if humanity permits maniacs without memories to play politics with its fate.

We will not allow this! We will not permit anyone to cancel what was obtained by the blood of millions of noble people of this planet. We swear this today near the soldiers' graves, near the Eternal Flame, under the eternal bloom of the cherry trees, under the eternal dome of the sky. Yes, eternal! We will make it to be that. We do not need a transient earth or fate, or history torn on the most brilliant pages, or songs cut off in the middle of a word.

It is with these thoughts that we go to the meetings, to the torchlight processions of the youth, to all the mass actions of this month of active events against the threat of nuclear war. With these thoughts we send postcards of protest to the White House and to the headquarters of NATO. With these thoughts we manage the ordinary matters of the ordinary weekday, unusual perhaps only in one respect – everything that the Soviet people are doing today so that the children of the Earth should always believe in its eternity.

Earth will be eternal if Memory will be eternal.

staff in Moscow numbers about 60, of whom 15 to 20 have program responsibilities. Kharkhardin told us with evident pride that rather than renting from the Moscow City Soviet, the Peace Committee owns the very attractive headquarters building it constructed two years ago with money provided by the Peace Fund.

"We decide what to do, what groups to work with or not work with, what slogans we want to use," he said. "We are really independent, unlike some non-governmental organizations in Western countries which must depend on funds from the government or from foundations."

Among the ways the Committee keeps in touch with people's thinking are the letters it receives, the resolutions passed at various peace meetings, and people's expressions of opinions in newspapers and other media. About 150 to 170 letters are received daily at the headquarters, and sometimes the total reaches 300. Ordinary citizens come up with a very substantial number of proposals, according to Kharkhardin. Some are naive, he said, but many contain very valuable suggestions. The Peace Committee, the Communist Party and the government take up the most practical of them.

These letters and other expressions by individuals and groups also provide a constant check on how Peace Committee plans and Party and government policies reflect the Soviet people's thinking, he observed. "If necessary," he said, "the people would correct our views."

The Peace Committee and the Making of Policy

"It was on the committee's initiative that the law prohibiting war propaganda in the Soviet Union was adopted by the Supreme Soviet," Kharkhardin told us. The law, which carries a penalty of three to eight years in prison for violators, was later incorporated into the 1977 Constitution.

Of particular interest was the process through which the agreement of the Soviet government with the nuclear freeze concept was secured. As Kharkhardin and Peace Committee staff member Mikhail Ilyin elaborated the process, US peace movement participants told members of the Peace Committee at an early stage about the freeze proposal emerging in the United States. The initial reaction of the Committee members was quite mixed, and there was a lot of discussion. When the Peace Committee decided the idea was a good one, various members began to discuss it with different organizations and government bodies.

Yuri Zhukov, for example, brought the matter up with the Supreme Soviet's Foreign Affairs Commission, of which he is a member. The general reaction in the commission was quite positive, but there were many questions, which Zhukov asked the Peace Committee's disarmament commission to clarify.

The Peace Committee also talked with the disarmament experts from the Foreign Ministry (some of whom, like Victor Israelyan, head of the USSR delegation to the UN disarmament conference in Geneva, are also Peace Committee members). The Foreign Ministry reportedly raised many more questions than did the Supreme Soviet. Among them was a very fundamental one — why should the Soviet Union get involved with advocating

a limited measure like the freeze when the government had already presented a number of much more concrete and far-reaching proposals. The Peace Committee persisted, however, because the Soviet people found the idea of the freeze very appealing, and so, after all the discussion, the government finally approved it.

The media also played an important part in discussing the freeze. Journalists among the committee members wrote and spoke about it. Yuri Zhukov discussed it on his weekly TV program. The letters in answer to these various discussions helped provide an indication of the popular response.

The Peace Committee, as an independent body, works in much the same way as the Soviet Communist Party in analyzing and reflecting popular opinion as expressed in meetings at the grassroots level and in other ways, and presenting ideas to the people for consideration, according to Kharkhardin. He emphasized the complexity of the process, which involves the standing commissions of the Supreme Soviet, the various public organizations, government ministries, and institutes working in various fields.

Why the Soviets Discontinued the Missile Talks

Commenting on the USSR's decision not to continue talks on medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe after the US began deploying Pershing IIs and cruise missiles in the fall of 1983, Kharkhardin observed, "In the nuclear age, we must not endanger our security. If we engage in talks while these weapons continue to be deployed, people will think everything is all right because talks are continuing. But reality runs in the opposite direction." Talks could be resumed as soon as the missiles are removed, he said.

For two years, the Soviets sought a mutual solution which would prevent deployment, he noted. The USSR made repeated concessions, modifying its original offer five times, finally proposing a number of medium-range warheads — 140 — equal to the number presently targeted on the USSR by Britain and France, in return for cancellation of the deployment of new US missiles. The US, he said, never budged from proposals which would have left it with a 500-missile advantage.

"It is hard for the people of your country to understand how we feel threatened, encircled by military bases and by ships armed with nuclear weapons," Kharkhardin said. That concern is greatly intensified now that flight time has been reduced to five or six minutes. "What about a computer malfunction?" he asked. "After all, the launching of even one missile is a signal that a nuclear attack is taking place. In 30 minutes some political action can be taken, but not in five or six minutes. Perhaps this also worries the US."

"Look at the letters on domestic and foreign affairs in newspapers like *Pravda* and *Izvestia*," he continued. "People here read a lot and they know that peace is a life-and-death question. If they didn't agree with stopping the talks, they would make it clear."

Talks can only take place if there is political will on both sides, Kharkhardin emphasized: "Our governments agreed on SALT I, on the anti-ballistic missile treaty, on SALT II (though the US Senate never ratified it — ed.). Now Ronald Reagan claims the Soviets do not want talks. But we

have put forward many proposals, concerning nuclear and conventional disarmament, space weapons, chemical weapons, a complete test ban treaty, limiting arms sales, making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, and so on. Talks on the latter three were interrupted by the US without any good reason."

Whenever an agreement is near the US administration backs away, he observed, citing as a recent example the talks on chemical weapons. The US concept of verification centered on control of government-owned facilities. Most US weapons production takes place at private facilities which would thus not be controlled, while the USSR's exclusively government-owned facilities would be completely subject to controls.

Kharkhardin emphasized that the Soviet Union has a fundamental national interest in cutting military spending, and that in the USSR there are no individuals or groups which profit from arms manufacture. "Every ruble we have to spend on weapons is a lost ruble for everyone," he said. "The arms race slows our social progress."

However, he observed, in the present international situation the USSR must view its military strength as also being a guarantee of peace: "A balance is necessary to assure that our opponents will not use arms in the competition between capitalism and socialism. Even an illusion of superiority may tempt an opponent to launch a war."

Information and Education

Activities of the Peace Committee include providing information to the Soviet people and people abroad about world political developments, what is happening in the peace movement throughout the world, and the basic direction of Soviet foreign policy. The Committee makes a special effort to popularize the peace program of the CPSU, which is revised and updated at the Party congresses held every five years.

Among the Committee's publications is the monthly magazine, *XXth Century and Peace*, which appears in Russian, English, French, Spanish and German. Its circulation is about half within the USSR and half to more than 100 countries abroad. Financial support is provided by the Soviet Peace Fund. The magazine features participation of the Soviet people in the world peace movement, Soviet views on current peace issues, contacts with foreign organizations, and activities of republican, regional and local peace committees.

Its editor, Anatoly A. Belyayev, said the audience the magazine is trying to reach abroad is the wave of new sections of the population joining the peace movement in the West. "We feel it is unproductive to try to convert each other into communists or capitalists," Belyayev said. "The important thing is to seek common concerns. One of these is the nuclear threat. People in the Soviet Union and in other countries can do a great deal to avert it. In addition to the struggle within each country, we need to cooperate."

Trust is one of the most important factors, he emphasized: "Mistrust most often comes from lack of knowledge." The magazine inaugurated a special section in 1983, entitled "Dialogue for Confidence," which features contributions by Soviet and foreign authors. Statements by and interviews

with Westerners are often featured. A recent issue (May 1984), for example, presented an interview with British Brigadier General (Ret.) Harbottle concerning the new situation following the start of deployment of new US medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. From time to time particularly important articles are reprinted from Western magazines. A recent example was the presentation of an abridged version of Prof. Mark Solomon's two-part article criticizing the ideas of E.P. Thompson, originally published in *New World Review*.

"We must always keep in mind that humanity must be united to overcome the nuclear threat, ecological problems, problems such as health and hunger," Belyayev said. Like so many Soviet people, Belyayev experienced the war's consequences as a child. He grew up in a village near Moscow which, he said, sent 98 men to the armed forces and saw only four return.

Mass Actions

The Peace Committee also coordinates mass demonstrations and activities throughout the country. A year after its founding, it was instrumental in the gathering of 118 million signatures of the Soviet people on the Stockholm Peace Appeal calling for a ban on nuclear weapons (500 million signatures were gathered altogether). In 1976-78, when 700 million signatures were gathered in more than 100 countries on the New Stockholm Peace Appeal urging an end to the arms race, Soviet signatures exceeded 180 million, almost the entire adult population.

Among more recent activities are the following:

- Peace March '82, held in July 1982, was organized by a number of women's anti-war groups in Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland together with the Soviet Peace Committee and Women's Committee. Some 700,000 Soviets joined an international contingent of marchers from the four countries, on a route from Stockholm to Moscow and then to Minsk.
- Between May 1 and October 1, 1983, 160 million Soviets took part in some 140,000 mass anti-war activities. In May alone over 50 million people participated in more than 30,000 anti-war events throughout the country.
- On September 1, 1983, "World Peace Day" and the "Day of Trade Unions Actions for Peace," local peace committees and trade unions held more than 34,000 peace demonstrations in which over 20 million people participated.
- During the World Week of Actions Against Deployment of Pershing and Cruise Missiles in Europe, sponsored by the World Peace Council from December 4 through 12, 1983, participants included seven million in the Ukraine (population 50.5 million), 2.5 million in Bashkiria (population just under 4 million), and over two million in Uzbekistan (population 17 million).

An example of one of the more imaginative events was a motorcade along the roads of Rostov region on September 20, 1983, the opening day of the UN General Assembly. Meetings and rallies were held along the route,

as well as concerts which raised money for the Peace Fund. Peace supporters driving their own cars participated in a number of similar events around the country.

Asked how these demonstrations came about, Belyayev replied, "Of course, they're not a hundred per cent spontaneous. They reflect what people think and how they react to what they hear from our political leaders. Mass actions have their roots in these feelings. A group — often the Peace Committee — puts forward a proposal and people respond. For example, in Moscow last October, 800,000 people came out to protest the Reagan administration's starting to deploy Pershing and cruise missiles. Nobody forced them to participate. They wanted to send a message to the US and Western Europe.

Slogans for that demonstration included such statements as "No to the arms race, Yes to the freeze; No to nuclear weapons West or East; People of other nations — let's not allow Europe to become a nuclear graveyard."

In addition to the constant stream of letters, the Peace Committee receives a variety of other spontaneous communications. Many are in the form of petitions, with thousands of signatures on a statement drawn up by an individual or a small group of people. Their hand-drawn, hand-lettered covers underscore the strong personal feelings invested in them.

A carpenter prepared a photo album and wrote a text to accompany it. Inside its hand-painted cover were mounted a number of large, mostly color photos of children and adults engaging in various activities. In somewhat over a year, he collected 50,000 signatures and then sent it to the Committee.

An album in a red cover was sent by Yulia Koleshova, a guide at the Volgograd (formerly Stalingrad) Bureau of Trips and Excursions. Together with Nina Belyayeva, principal of a Volgograd secondary school, and Ludmilla Levina, a teacher at a technical school, Koleshova prepared a hand-drawn frontispiece, "Appeal to All People of Our Earth: We Won't Allow Peace to be Blown Up!" The text reminds people of the great battle of Stalingrad in 1942-43. While the city is calm now, the war is not forgotten, it says, and all our work today is dedicated to the memory of those who died then. We must keep the peace for which these soldiers gave their lives. All the people of Volgograd support this appeal. The album features photos of Stalingrad after the battle, and Volgograd today. Signatures of 13,085 Volgograd residents follow, collected by the three women.

Another album, from the village Druzhelyubovka in the Ukraine (literally, "we love friendship"), consists of individual paintings and essays. The text notes that 101 people from this little village gave their lives in the war, and 28 Soviet soldiers died in the battle for the village itself. In one of the essays, a woman farmer, a Hero of Socialist Labor and mother of three, appeals for friendship and peace on behalf of all the people of the village. In another, a World War II veteran, twice wounded, who fought all the way to Germany, tells why he opposes war: he has six children and thirteen grandchildren, he says, and he wants them all to be happy. Children have drawn their thoughts on war and on friendship, and the album features a photograph of the village memorial to the war dead. The collection bears the signatures of 1,420 villagers.

Peace and the Schools

Peace education has become part of the curriculum in the Soviet schools, Mikhail Ilyin told us. After lessons at the various levels had been tested in a number of schools, the Peace Committee sought approval from the educational authorities, and now each year on September 1, the first day of school, work begins with a Peace Lesson. Teachers then integrate an on-going series of peace classes into their lesson plans. In 1983, 45 million students took part.

As a result, the Peace Committee has received thousands of communications from students and teachers. Among them: a group of young people from a village in northern Kazakhstan wrote to say they were giving the Peace Fund all the money they earned helping with the harvest at their collective farm. The Young Pioneers from a school in a small town in northern Russia sent the drawings and posters they made during the lesson, and told how they had invited the town's leading workers and war veterans to be guests of honor.

We were particularly interested in a collection of essays in English, often accompanied by drawings. Ilyin explained that some months ago a group of youngsters from the US, members of a California organization, Children as Teachers of Peace, met Soviet children during their visit to the USSR, and were shown some of the Soviet youngsters' essays on peace. The language barrier continued to create a problem. "So," said Ilyin, "we suggested to our youngsters who are studying English that they send some of their compositions to the youngsters from California." A jury of children selected the 300 best essays. Some were sent to the California group and others were sent to the Peace Committee.

The writers reflect their own experiences as well as the general characteristics of their society. As nine-year-old Natasha Satsula from Minsk puts it:

I live in Byelorussia in one of the finest republics of the USSR. There are many forests, lakes, rivers in our republic — that is why I like blue, green and yellow colors . . . These colors speak about peace. . . I dream about peace: it brings happiness. I want my sister Tanya, my mother and my father to be happy. I often go to the forest with my parents and I like to look at the blue sky, high and deep. I want the sky to be bright blue for years. I want peace for all.

Nick Okhmakavich of Kiev says:

My grandfather and uncle took part in the Second World War. My grandfather told me much about his friends. Granny was waiting for him eagerly and she was lucky he came back alive. . . Every city and village lost hundreds of people and only monuments tell us of people who didn't return home from war.

Our Pioneer Organization fights for peace, too. Money from our work we send to the Soviet Peace Fund. We take part in contests of placards for peace. We want peace!

Yulya Schukina, a sixth form student from Leningrad, recounts some family history:

I was born after World War II, and I don't know what war is. But my grandfather was badly wounded during the war. He often told me about his war experience and his comrades in arms.

My grandmother and her two little sons lived in Leningrad when the German fascists besieged it. She loved her sons very much, but they died. She can't forget about them.

I can't believe that American people want a new war. They have children and they don't want them to die.

Finally, these Soviet children are optimistic. Much as they have thought about war, they have confidence in the future, as expressed by Lyuda Voldayeva, a fifth former from Vilnius, Lithuania:

It is possible to live in peace and mutual understanding. People of many nationalities live in our country, and they all live happily, working hand in hand, helping each other. I want all the people in the world to be one big family. I want to see smiles on children's faces and not tears in their eyes...

I think it's possible to keep peace in the world.

The Soviet Peace Fund

THE SOVIET PEACE FUND FINANCES THE ACTIVITIES OF THE Peace Committee and about a dozen and a half other organizations active in peace and solidarity work. It pays the costs connected with organizing peace activities in the USSR. It also provides funds for international peace conferences and activities held in the USSR, such as the 1973 World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow, and helps with international conferences elsewhere, such as the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace in Sofia, Bulgaria in 1980 and the World Assembly for Peace and Life in Prague, Czechoslovakia in 1983.

The Fund makes it possible for Soviet delegations to travel abroad to participate in peace conferences and activities, and for Soviet organizations to receive guests in the interest of peace and understanding.

It also cooperates with other Soviet organizations to send food, medicine and other aid to developing countries and liberation movements: more will be said about this in the chapter on Solidarity.

While in Moscow, we met with two leaders of the Peace Fund, vice chairman Vasily S. Yemelyanov and Thomas Grigoriev, secretary of the fund. (Academician Yemelyanov's observations form part of the discussion of scientists' activities for peace.)

In the years following World War II, Grigoriev said, people in the USSR responded very enthusiastically to developments such as the First World Peace Congress in 1949, the circulation of the Stockholm Peace Appeal in 1950, and the founding of the World Peace Council. People began sending donations spontaneously — some small, some large — to the Peace Committee and to other organizations and to the newspapers. As the amount involved grew larger, it became necessary to find a way to make the best use of this money, and so in April 1961, the Soviet Peace fund was established. Since then about 90 million people have sent contributions.

The concept of such a fund has its roots in developments in the years immediately following the October 1917 revolution. In the early 1920s, when a serious famine struck the Volga region, thousands of people gave part of their own meager food rations to help the starving. Later, branches

of the International Relief Fund for Revolutionary Fighters spread throughout the country. During World War II voluntary donations from individuals and groups equipped a great number of units of the Soviet armed forces.

The Peace Fund doesn't have "members," Grigoriev said. There is no separation between those who help administer the fund and those who participate in other kinds of peace activities. There is a branch of the Fund at every factory, farm or other enterprise, and every district and region has its own Peace Fund organization with two or three people in charge. More than half these local leaders are war veterans. About five million people throughout the country, organized in about 350,000 local commissions, work on a volunteer basis to manage the Fund.

At the national level, the Central Board of 155 members is elected by the All-Union Conference, the Fund's highest body, which meets every five years. Like the Peace Committee, it is as nearly as possible representative of nationalities, regions, occupations and so on. Until his death in 1981, the famous writer Boris Polevoy was chairman; now that position is held by chess champion Anatoly Karpov.

Where the Money Comes From

"It is a basic principle of the Fund that all contributions are voluntary," Grigoriev emphasized. These may come from individuals or they may come from groups of workers or farmers. One of the most popular forms of contribution is the "peace shift." Wages from such a shift, done on a working day or by volunteering on a day off, are sent in as a collective contribution. These are not deducted automatically from wages, but rather, each worker signs a sheet asking that a specific part of the wages earned be sent to the Fund, and the payroll department sends the money to the special account which is maintained by the Fund at every bank.

Contributions originate in a variety of ways. Theaters and performing groups, or individual performers, may arrange special performances and give the proceeds to the Fund. Artists and sculptors organize special exhibitions to sell their works. Poetry readings by popular Soviet poets and writers before audiences of thousands at Moscow's biggest sports arena at Luzhniki, with all income donated to the Fund, have become a tradition. An article in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, July 7, 1982 listed some "recently received donations":

- from the poet Yegor Isayev — his fees for the book "The Verdict of Memory" published in Leningrad;
- from the poet Mikola Bazhan — the money he is entitled to as winner of a Lenin Prize;
- from a group of Latvian poets — fees for *The Silver Basket*, a collection of poems devoted to peace;
- from a group of poets in Sverdlovsk — fees for a collection of poems devoted to the Ural workers.

Among Soviets well known in the West who have made substantial contributions are composer Dmitry Shostakovich, authors Konstantin Simonov and Alexander Chakovsky, and poet Robert Rozhdestvensky,

who contributed the royalties from his poem, *Requiem*.

The letters which accompany contributions reveal what people are thinking:

From an Ulyanovsk family with three children: "We could buy a color TV set or save the money to buy a car, but at our family council we decided to remit the 1,500 rubles we have to the Soviet Peace Fund. If there is peace then we shall have a color TV set, a car and many other things we do not have now. But if there is a war we shall have nothing."

From a young girl in Baku: "I have sent a postcard of protest to Brussels, to NATO, and written that I'm 11 years old. Let them know that the Young Pioneers of our country are also for peace. I've also sent money to the Peace Fund and I'm not at all sorry that I'm left without a doll now. The Palestinian children not only have no toys, they have no homeland."

From a Moscow couple: "From a new family on their wedding day, a happy day for us. Here is our modest contribution with all sincerity."

From a technician in Korosten: "I have decided to make a contribution every time that I succeed in something or that something good happens to me. I want the people abroad who are hungry or ill or who are suffering to receive at least a little of my good fortune. . . Now I'm very happy. I never imagined that it was possible to be so much in love. . . we are going to get married next summer."

Schoolchildren collect scrap paper and metal for recycling, or harvest medicinal herbs and sell them to a pharmacy. Youngsters at Pioneer Camp hold fairs and sell toys and craft items they have made. Young people put on concerts. "Sometimes youngsters send money they have saved from their allowances," Grigoriev said. "But we don't value such contributions as highly as those they have earned through some activity."

Organizing to Raise Funds

During our travels, we heard accounts of a number of specific ways contributions were made.

In Ashkhabad, we met Kadir Kadirov, a young construction worker and active Peace Committee member whose team of young workers of different nationalities includes a symbolic member, a man who was killed in Minsk during World War II. The "symbolic team member" has become quite common in the Soviet Union. A team will select a man or woman who died in World War II or who performed some other heroic feat, and perform that person's work quota in addition to their own. The team then gives the Fund the symbolic member's wages. As part of his work with the Peace Committee, Kadirov also gives a number of talks at schools each year.

Abadan Seitkulaeva, editor of *Women of Soviet Turkmenia*, told us the magazine annually publishes a special issue for peace, and donates the revenue it brings in to the Fund. The magazine also holds meetings at its office, under the theme, "We Shall Save Peace."

"One day," she said, "a woman came to our office — a woman who had worked hard all her life and who had had to overcome many difficulties during the early years of Soviet power. She had received many awards for

her work as a shepherdess. Though she was well past retirement age, she said she kept on working so she could give her pension to the Peace Fund. When I visited her home town, Kushka (on the border with Afghanistan) recently, I met her again. She was well, still working, and happy she could keep on sending her pension to the Fund. She is only one of many people like that here."

The head of the Communist Party organization at Tbilisi's Computer Plant, Avtandil Samaradze, said there is a city-wide voluntary work day on a Saturday (a subbotnik) every year to raise money for the Peace Fund. Trade union chairman Avtandil Tsanova added that peace meetings lasting between half an hour and an hour are held in all departments of the plant every month, so the workers can express their thoughts and concerns about peace and the international situation. The plant also holds its own subbotnik annually to raise contributions for the Peace Fund. Tsanova said the plant Peace Committee works out its plans "around the table," as decisions are often made in Georgia, and then talks with the management, "which always agrees."

During a tour of Manavi State Farm outside Tbilisi, we not only learned more about how money is raised, but gained an insight into what "around the table" means. After a look at the lush grape arbors and a chat with the vineyard workers, we were taken high on a hillside overlooking the farm, where there was a guesthouse which had once belonged to a local nobleman. As we surveyed the magnificent view, we noticed a group of workers standing near the house. They told us their team had raised 1,200 rubles the year before, by putting on a concert. They had decided to do this "around the table," they said.

Questions such as how they arranged for facilities, found the performers and publicized the concert were on the tips of our tongues when the farm chairman interrupted to invite us into the guest house for dinner. Before us, in the banquet room, was spread a veritable feast — shashlik, chicken, fish, vegetable dishes of all sorts both hot and cold, great loaves of braided bread, trays heaped with fruit, pitchers brimming with home-made wine.

And then we found out how the work team had arranged its concert. The very men with whom we had been talking turned out to be an outstanding amateur vocal ensemble in the Georgian tradition of unaccompanied male singing groups. As they began the serenade which continued at intervals throughout the meal, we realized that it had been their own concert which had brought in the 1,200 rubles.

At Poltava's Institute of Medicine and Stomatology, graduating senior Nick Litvinenko told us that both last year and this year, the entire graduating class had voted to put in a week's work at a nearby collective farm and donate their wages to the Fund. "We hope this will become a tradition here," he said, "and we're urging graduating classes at other institutes to do similar things."

Dr. Timofey Revenko, director of Donetsk's Institute of Trauma and Orthopedics, said all the physicians at the Institute annually donate their wages to the Peace Fund on May 9, Victory Day, and that one of the pro-

fessors has given the Fund all the royalties for the five books he has written.

Ivan Ropovka, director of the Lenin Collective Farm on the way from Poltava to Kharkhiv, said every family on the farm gives something to the Fund, "and some people give quite a lot."

Svetlana Nekrasova, executive secretary of the Donetsk Regional Peace Committee, said the popular "peace shift" originated in Donetsk. In nearby Makeyevka, we met one of the prime movers of this idea, metallurgical engineer Gennady Zarichnye, a Hero of Socialist Labor and two-time recipient of the Order of Lenin. In addition to performing "peace shifts," his team has enrolled two honorary members, a man from Makeyevka who was killed in the war, and another who died saving his workmates after an accident. The team does their work assignments in addition to those of its members, and gives their wages to the Fund.

From the beginning of 1984 through June, workers at the Donetsk Textile Factory had given some 40,000 rubles to the Fund. On May 23, the plant's young workers donated their wages to the Fund, and the day before our visit, the students at a nearby secondary school decided at their graduation party to volunteer three days of work at the plant and give what they would have earned to the Fund. Director Gennady Kisarov said proudly that the factory is famous throughout the USSR for its peace work as well as its products, and that it has received a special award for its contributions to the Soviet Peace Fund.

Solidarity

A QUESTION FREQUENTLY ASKED IS HOW THE SOVIETS REconcile their commitment to support peoples around the world who are fighting for liberation, with their policy of working for peace. We asked it of Oleg Kharkhardin, first vice chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee.

"Communists cannot betray their principles," he said, "and one of these is support for liberation movements around the world." Two major considerations underly Soviet policy in this regard: the unwavering support for liberation struggles, and the vital necessity of avoiding nuclear war.

Kharkhardin cited the Middle East as an example. "We provide military equipment and advisors to Syria," he noted. "The US is also involved in the Middle East. There is a fundamental difference, for the US forces there are close to the Soviet border, while ours are very far from the United States. We have been, and are, supporting the Syrian people. But we must correlate support for liberation struggles, which cannot be denied, with having a flexible enough policy not to allow the outbreak of a nuclear conflict."

A related issue is arms sales. Queried about this, Kharkhardin recalled that two years of negotiations with the US on the subject were broken off in 1981 by the Reagan administration without explanation. He contrasted the approach of the two countries:

"In our view, US arms sales abroad are supporting the policies of the US government, and also providing profits to private firms.

These same firms exert a controlling influence on the US government. As we approach this question, arms go first to liberation movements. In addition to sales, some arms are provided without charge. We provide weapons to those actually suffering aggression from imperialist powers and their local allies."

Arms sales by either side cannot be a stabilizing factor, he emphasized, because they promote the arms race in the developing countries.

In talks with the US on this subject, Kharkhardin said, the Soviet Union sought to limit sales to oppressors so that other countries would be in



Soviet Peace Committee

Peace March '82 sponsored by Scandinavian peace movements went through Kalinin, USSR in July, linked up with Soviet citizens and went on into Western Europe.

a safer and more stable situation. "As in Europe," he observed, "any limit established on the basis of equality improves the security of both sides."

Liberation struggles can be supported in different ways, he said. In addition to providing weapons, diplomatic measures to limit sales will help, because limiting US arms sales will decrease outside military pressures experienced by these movements. "Our aim in any situation is always to minimize military conflict," he emphasized.

Peace Committee staff member Mikhail Ilyin also commented on the trend in regard to arms sales in the recent period. According to an authoritative study by the Congressional Research Service, the USSR's share of sales had decreased from 22 per cent to 17 per cent of the world total, while the US share had risen from 35-36 per cent to 39 per cent (*U.S. News & World Report* 5/28/84 p. 59).

The Peace Movement Role

However, solidarity with liberation movements and progressively oriented developing countries through military assistance is only the most highly publicized "tip of the iceberg": Soviet solidarity activities involve a broad range of other kinds of help, and in this sphere the organizations which are part of the peace movement play a very substantial part.

Much of this activity centers around the Peace Fund. In recent years the Fund has cooperated with the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, the Peace Committee and the Women's Committee to send food, household goods and clothing to the people of Kampuchea whose country was totally devastated during the years of the Pol Pot dictatorship. In 1979 and 1980 Soviet shipments totalled about \$220 million in value. (When I was in Kampuchea early in 1980, I observed large quantities of Soviet goods being unloaded at the port of Kompong Som, which the Soviets restored from ruins, and saw Soviet trucks carrying food and other supplies to other parts of the country for distribution.)

These same Soviet organizations have also provided very substantial aid to the people of Viet Nam. A mother-and-child center has been built in Hanoi with money from the Fund. In recent years a campaign, "For the children of Viet Nam," targeted on helping the parts of the country hurt by the Chinese invasion of 1979, was conducted by the Fund together with the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.

The Fund has also sent food and medicine to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the African National Congress of South Africa, and other national liberation movements. Its annual contribution of 100,000 rubles to the Organization of African Unity aids civilians in the newly independent areas of Africa as well as victims of apartheid.

The Fund, together with the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, has sent aid to the people of Southern Lebanon and to Palestinian refugees. It pays for children of Palestinian refugees to vacation at Camp Artek in the Crimea. Together with the Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent societies, the Fund helps families of political prisoners in Chile and El Salvador, and families of the victims of reactionary regimes in various countries. It also

sends aid to people suffering the effects of natural disasters — for example, financing the construction of new housing and equipping kindergartens after an earthquake in Peru.

According to Peace Fund chairman Anatoly Karpov, many donations to the Fund have been earmarked in the recent period to help the people of Nicaragua, Angola, Chile, Lebanon and the Palestinian people.

Aid for Afghanistan

Afghanistan has been among the countries receiving substantial help in recent years. Soviet experts, supplies and financial contributions, including those coming through the Peace Fund, provide food and clothing to help offset the economic disruption caused by the US- and Western-supported anti-government rebels. There are also major programs of assistance to the Afghan health and educational systems, to the development of agriculture, industry, transport and power, and to other areas of Afghan life.

Three Soviet republics border Afghanistan: Uzbekistan, Turkmenia and Tadzhikistan. Uzbek, Turkmen and Tadzhik people live on the Afghan side of the border. During our stay in Ashkhabad we asked about Turkmenian relations with Afghanistan.

The artist Izzat Klychev, chairman of the Peace Committee, had visited Afghanistan in April 1984 as a guest artist, in connection with the celebration of the sixth anniversary of the Afghan revolution. While he was there, he told us, he visited people in remote rural areas: "I saw their daily life, and how they did their work by hand and with crude tools. We were at this stage sixty years ago, and now we have overcome the economic and social problems they are still struggling with. But their country has very rich resources which can be greatly developed when they are used correctly."

During the 1920s counterrevolutionary forces, supported by the British, caused a great deal of turmoil in Turkmenia, Klychev said. "Publications from those days, in which our artists, writers and poets called on the people to fight back, are now of special interest in Afghanistan," he told us.

The Turkmen Academy of Science helps prepare materials for Afghan schools, and Afghan professionals in many fields of work come to Turkmenia on study trips. Large groups of farmers, as well as many delegations of workers, intellectuals and religious leaders have visited the republic.

Some of the funds collected in Turkmenia are earmarked to go to the Afghan Red Crescent Society (the Islamic equivalent of the Red Cross), Klychev said. The republic recently sent a substantial shipment of medical supplies to treat Afghan youngsters. "A lot of Afghan children whose parents have been killed by the anti-government forces come to Turkmenia for their vacations because the climate is the same," he said. "We also send a lot of literature to our fellow Turkmen across the border, since we speak the same language."

Klychev credits the socialist society with the progress his own people have made. "Before the October Revolution we Turkmen were tribes without a nation," he said. "The revolution made us members of a social system

in the forefront of development."

Like a great many peace committee and friendship society leaders, Izzat Klychev is an outstanding figure in his own field. He was the first Turkmen artist to be awarded the State Prize in painting. His works hang in major Soviet museums (we saw several at Moscow's Tretyakov Gallery), and they have been exhibited in a number of other countries. He visited the US in 1980 to participate in a US-Soviet citizens' dialogue for peace.

During a visit to his studio we saw a number of Klychev's paintings. Many vividly and colorfully depicted Turkmenia's people and their daily life, while others were delightful miniatures illustrating Turkmen fairytales.

Klychev's father was a teacher whose school was shut down by the tsarist authorities because he "taught more than the religious subjects allowed at that time," and who returned to teaching after the revolution. The young Izzat was attracted to painting as a profession by the miniatures illuminating the books he read as a child. He entered art school after the war, and the path to mastery apparently was not smooth; he said one of his professors once told him he "should find something else to do."

The magazine *Women of Soviet Turkmenia* is very popular in Afghanistan. Its editor, Abadan Seitkulaeva, noted that many families have members on both sides of the border, and visits back and forth are common, sometimes lasting for several weeks. There are also several villages straddling the border, whose people constantly interact with each other.

Seitkulaeva also commented on the role of Turkmen skilled workers and professionals who work in Afghanistan. "Every year our Minister of Irrigation goes there to help develop Afghanistan's irrigation system," she said.

Vietnamese Workers in the USSR

In Donetsk we encountered another form of solidarity. The textile plant has a special relationship with a similar plant in Viet Nam. Its specialists helped build the Vietnamese plant, and provide ongoing advice and assistance. Among the 10,000 employees of the Donetsk plant are some 600 Vietnamese who have come for four years of work and study.

Trade union leader Rosa Pratasova told us the Vietnamese workers are paid the same as Soviet workers with the same qualifications. They live in an attractive, comfortable hostel, where they receive free accommodations, and the plant also provides clothing — especially winter clothes — to them without charge.

When they first arrive, the Vietnamese workers spend two months learning Russian. Then they study technical subjects before they begin to work. Despite the fact that only about half the 600 had finished their studies and started to work in the plant when we were there, two of the four winners of the workers' competition in May were Vietnamese, and photos of three Vietnamese women headed the display board listing the plant's outstanding workers. Pratasova said that all the workers at the plant were eager to help their Vietnamese colleagues.

The Soviet Women's Committee is also active in various types of

solidarity assistance. According to vice chairwoman Ksenia Proskurinova, these have included collecting clothing and toys for the Lebanese and Palestinian people. She said a delegation from the Women's Committee in another city had recently come to Moscow with a railroad car loaded with materials to help people in the areas of Angola which have been attacked by South Africa.

In our discussion at the Soviet Peace Fund, executive secretary Thomas Grigoriev cited several solidarity organizations financed by the Fund, among them the committees for solidarity with Latin America, Chile, Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. Among the most active of such organizations is the Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries, founded in 1956. According to its first vice chairman, Alexander Dzasokhov, its purpose is "to coordinate the Afro-Asian solidarity movement in the USSR and to promote friendship and solidarity between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the countries of Asia and Africa." The republics of Central Asia, the Caucasus, and Kazakhstan have their own committees, and there is a branch of the national organization in the Far Eastern seaport of Nakhodka. The national committee is also a member of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) and is represented on its presiding committee and secretariat.

In recent years the Committee has concentrated on providing support for people's struggles in the Middle East, southern Africa and Indochina and seeking a "just and lasting peace" in these areas, and supporting the developing countries' efforts to eliminate inequality in international economic relations. Together with the Institute of Oriental Studies and the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Committee publishes the magazine *Asia and Africa Today*, in Russian, English and French. The Committee also provides scholarships to more than 1,500 students at Soviet higher and specialized secondary educational institutions.

Religious denominations also participate in solidarity activities. Metropolitan Filaret, who heads the International Department of the Russian Orthodox Church's Moscow Patriarchate, told us that the Russian Orthodox Church has sent religious articles to its sister churches in Lebanon in response to the destruction of churches there. As an active participant in the work of the World Council of Churches, the Russian Orthodox community shares its concerns about areas such as Latin America, southern Africa and Lebanon.

Soviet Moslems are also actively seeking to help their counterparts in the Middle East, both through assistance to Islamic congregations in Lebanon, and through participating in efforts to solve Middle East problems. During the last decade and a half, several international conferences of Moslems have been held in the USSR, emphasizing the solidarity of Soviet Moslems with the Arab peoples struggling against Israeli aggression and seeking to establish a just and lasting peace in the region.



Soviet Peace Committee

A united front joins Peace March '82.

The Friendship Movement

ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF WORKING FOR peace is building understanding and friendship between various peoples, by providing opportunities for them to get acquainted with each other, and enabling them to get to know about each other's occupations, conditions of life, and to appreciate each other's works of art, drama, music and literature. In the USSR a number of organizations are involved in such activities to a greater or lesser extent. The complex of organizations which has these activities at the heart of its work is brought together under the umbrella of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, or, for short, the Union of Friendship Societies, which was founded in 1958, with predecessor bodies going back to 1925.

As of the end of 1981, the Union of Friendship Societies brought together 78 friendship societies with particular countries, and 14 republic-level umbrella organizations. It included more than a thousand republican, regional, city and local societies, as well as chapters at over 30,000 enterprises and organizations. It also included 13 organizations of cultural and research workers in various fields, as well as the Soviet Association of Sister Cities.

Each year these organizations hold about 55,000 major events to help strengthen understanding and ties with peoples around the world. They have ties with 9,000 organizations in more than 140 countries, and cooperate closely with the approximately 120 of these organizations in 86 countries which are societies for friendship and cultural relations with the USSR. In the US, for example, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, which at this writing brings together 24 local societies in cities across the country, has cooperative relations with the USSR-USA Society, an affiliate of the Unions of Friendship Societies, having local chapters in five Soviet cities.

In a sense this whole field of work might be said to be an extension into the international arena of a basic principle of Soviet domestic policy, the conscious fostering of mutual respect, understanding and friendship among

the more than 100 nationalities within the country. After the revolution in 1917, the negative constitutional and legal sanctions against discrimination on the basis of nationality or race were accompanied by positive policies of promoting rapid economic and cultural development in previously oppressed and backward regions. There was an effort to develop the positive aspects of the various national cultures, and also to acquaint the various peoples with each other's ways of life, literature, art and other aspects of culture, through translations, traveling art and craft exhibitions and tours by performing groups. Thus, for example, the writings of the internationally known author Chingiz Aitmatov, whose Kirghiz countrymen were once among the most backward peoples of the tsarist colonial empire in Central Asia, have been translated into all the major Soviet languages. Conversely, modern Russian authors like Mikhail Sholokov are read throughout the country not only in Russian but in the other major Soviet languages.*

This policy is extended to relations with people outside the USSR, through the work of the Union of Friendship Societies.

Friendship in Practice

In Kiev we talked with Vasil P. Osnach, president of the Ukrainian Friendship Society. He told us that his organization maintains regular contacts with fifty organizations in the US, including, in addition to the NCASF, such groups as Citizens Exchange Council and Friendship Force. "Our main activities are development of people-to-people relations and the exchange of information," he said. The society sends publications and other materials to university libraries and to the Library of Congress. Because the Ukraine (like Byelorussia) holds membership in the United Nations in addition to the membership held by the USSR, groups holding model UN sessions often request materials.

"Now not so many people from the US come here," Osnach remarked ruefully, ascribing the decline to the difficult state of US-USSR relations and the policies of the Reagan administration. In 1982, 40 groups from the US totaling 1,200 people were received by the Society; in 1983 there were 33 groups totaling 1,000 people; in the first half of 1984 there were ten groups and 176 people.

The Society sends about 2,000 Ukrainians — workers, journalists, farmers, artists, scientists, educators, actors, musicians and so on — abroad each year, and hosts similar groups from other countries. Five or six such groups visit the US annually. Despite the occasional difficulties and harassment such groups have met, participants in the Society's work, and Ukrainians generally, "respect all honest US people," Osnach said.

In recent years the Society has cooperated with organizations in a number of countries, including Austria, Australia, Czechoslovakia, Britain, The Netherlands, Denmark, Japan, Finland, India, Mozambique,

*It is not possible within the framework of this pamphlet to discuss Soviet nationalities policy in depth. Readers interested in more information may wish to refer to *Nation & Peoples: The Soviet Experience*, edited by Marilyn Bechtel and Daniel Rosenberg, and published in 1984 by N.W.R. Publications, Inc.

Guinea-Bissau, Ghana, Syria, Jordan, Tunisia, Mexico, Afghanistan, Costa Rica and more.

There are more than 430 regional, district and city branches of the Society, which have around 6,000 groups at factories, farms, schools, and other workplaces.

Exchanges of "days" are common. A recent "Days of the Ukraine" brought a photo exhibit and a delegation to New York City, and similar events involving a variety of activities have been held in Sweden, Italy, France, Japan, Austria and Laos. These are all reciprocated in the Ukraine.

The day after our talk with Vasil Osnach, we were destined to see an example of the "days of" in practice. Ukrainian regions, cities and districts are "twinning" with over 120 comparable entities in socialist, Western and developing countries. While we were visiting Poltava, some 300 km. east and south of Kiev, this lovely small manufacturing city was celebrating "days of friendship" with Koszalin, its counterpart city in Poland. The two have been "sister cities" for about twenty years.

Early in the evening we entered Poltava's classic, beautifully ornamented concert hall. The festivities began with the playing of three national anthems, those of Poland, the USSR and the Ukraine. There followed a half hour or so of speeches by various representatives of the two cities. Suddenly, the three anthems were repeated, and the speakers swiftly vacated the stage. Moments later the curtain swept open to reveal the first act of an astonishing and delightful evening's entertainment.

We watched and listened with avid fascination as amateur dancing and singing groups and soloists from the two cities performed a variety of their own, each other's and other people's dances and songs. There were children's, young people's and adult performing groups from each community, accompanied as appropriate either by a traditional folk ensemble of accordion, strings, clarinet and trumpet, or by a contemporary "rock" combo of amplified instruments.

Costumes were brilliant and constantly changing. The performances, including those by the children, were professional in quality, and the staging and organization were such that all entrances and exits were dovetailed and maintained the artistic theme of each episode. Not only did Ukrainians perform Polish numbers and Poles perform Ukrainian ones, but in at least one instance a work from another nationality was represented as a Polish singer performed an Uzbek song.

The concluding segment, with everyone on stage, was a song especially composed for the occasion, about the sister relationship between Poltava and Koszalin, illustrated in dance by girls and young women from the two communities. As the curtain came together for the final time, two Polish dancers sharing a horse costume lost their way, and with one last touch of Puckish good humor, slid their cloth-covered dobbie in amongst the ensemble of accordion and strings.

I looked at my watch: three hours had flown by in an instant.

A Variety of Programs

The work of friendship societies was clearly flourishing in other republics

lics we visited. In Ashkhabad, the chairman of the Turkmenian society, the writer Rakhim M. Esenov, said his organization has 300,000 members, and branches for friendship with India, the Arab peoples, Viet Nam, Bulgaria, Cuba, Mongolia and Kampuchea. "Days of Turkmenia" were recently held in Libya, and in 1985 reciprocal days will be held with Italy and Japan. The extensive activities involving neighboring Afghanistan are described in the chapter on solidarity.

In Tbilisi, Prof. Dr. Alexander Alexidze, a leading authority on Byzantine culture, and vice president of the Georgian Friendship Society, spoke of 33 affiliated societies having contact with about 140 organizations in different countries. There are fifteen branches specialized by occupation—literature, music, trade unionists, film, art, medicine, law, etc., headed by outstanding representatives of those fields. Recent "days" have featured Mexico, the Federal Republic of Germany, Morocco, Cyprus, Sri Lanka and reciprocal days with Tunisia are forthcoming.

We later spent a delightful evening with the painter Georgi Meshkishvili, director of all art work for the Georgian State Theater, and an active participant in the artists' section of the friendship society. His works, in which I perceived some kinship with the paintings of Chagall, Miro and Klee, frequently reflect peace themes. Meshkishvili said there were no limits placed on the themes or styles with which artists could work except for the bans on pornography and on advocating racism or war which affect all creative workers.

Literature and Friendship

Although they are not organizationally linked with it, the publishing houses which translate Soviet literature into foreign languages and foreign literature into Soviet languages share with the friendship movement the aim of helping peoples to understand each other better. During our visit we talked with Georgy Andzhaparidze, chief editor for foreign fiction at Raduga (Rainbow) Publishers in Moscow.

Raduga was established in 1982, to publish translations of Soviet literature into foreign languages (which had been done by Progress Publishers) and to translate foreign works into Russian and other Soviet languages. According to Andzhaparidze, Raduga's main role in publishing Soviet works is to provide a representative picture of Soviet multinational culture. More than 500 Soviet titles are translated into 46 languages each year, and about 100 titles from other countries including works from African and Indian literatures are translated into Soviet languages. Raduga's translations are from the original language, not from other translations.

Andzhaparidze told us that several years ago a US-USSR agreement was concluded to prepare a 45-volume library of Soviet works in English and of US works in Russian. Although the US publishers have dropped the project, he indicated that Raduga is carrying its portion forward. The series will include works by Afro-American and Native American Indian authors. "We feel that most US authors of consequence have at least one work translated into Russian," he said. Raduga's normal press run is 50 to 100 thousand copies, because under the Geneva convention higher royalties

must be paid when the run exceeds that figure.

"When we translate works into Russian, our aim is to show the Soviet public an objective map of world literature," Andzhaparidze said. "In publishing here, anything sells, but we deliberately offer a representative range of titles, by country, author and 'weight'—sometimes we publish something 'just for fun.' We try to satisfy different tastes and to appeal to different strata of the population, both here and abroad."

Decisions on which titles to publish are made after thorough discussion in which experts in the literatures of the various countries participate, Andzhaparidze told us. Among the criteria: a book must represent an epoch or an author, and books which are pornographic, or which advocate racism or war are not acceptable.

"Despite all the tension in the world today, we believe our efforts are valuable," he said, "because literature reveals the state of mind—the spiritual state—of peoples."



Soviet Peace Committee

The school year in the Soviet Union begins with a Peace Lesson. Here children sign an appeal for peace and disarmament.

Other Soviet Organizations Active in the Peace Movement

A NUMBER OF SOVIET ORGANIZATIONS EXPRESS THE PEACE and disarmament concerns of particular groups in the population, or include a significant program of peace activities within a broader framework. Here are brief sketches of the work of several such groups. We spoke with members of several; a brief summary of the work of others has been drawn from their published materials.

The Soviet Women's Committee

Peace and disarmament issues have always been a vital part of the Soviet Women's Committee's work, according to its first vice chairwoman, Ksenia Proskurnikova. As elsewhere, Soviet women are involved in all aspects of peace activity, and in addition, they conduct some special activities of their own. Among the latter have been the organizing of anti-Viet Nam war demonstrations on International Women's Day (March 8), and more recently, cooperation with women's peace organizations in the Scandinavian countries to coordinate Peace March '82, Stockholm-Helsinki-Moscow-Minsk. From time to time there are mass peace demonstrations of women; one such occasion in recent years brought 800,000 women out in Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia.

The Committee participates in a broad range of international women's conferences, including those sponsored by the Women's International Democratic Federation, which it helped to found and with which it is affiliated. In addition, the Committee has ongoing relations with over 300 women's organizations in countries around the world, and carries on regular exchanges of visits and discussions with them.

In the United States, Ksenia Proskurnikova told us, the list includes such organizations as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Women Strike for Peace, Women for Racial and Economic Equality, the American Association of University Women, the League of Women Voters, American Women for International Understanding, Peace Links, Church Women United, and Women Against Nuclear Disaster.

The Committee was called the Soviet Women's Anti-Fascist Committee

in the years just after its founding in 1941. Since 1969, cosmonaut Valentina Tereshkova has been its chairwoman. Among its members are representatives of all the union and autonomous republics and territories, and many regions and cities. It also includes representatives of trade unions, cooperative and youth organizations, professional associations and unions of workers in the arts. Also belonging to the committee are the chief editors of the USSR's twenty-one women's magazines (total circulation over 28 million), seventeen of which are published in Soviet languages other than Russian. Like all Soviet public organizations, it relies on volunteers to get most of its work done.

The Committee's magazine, *Soviet Women*, has a circulation of more than two million, appears in thirteen languages besides Russian, and is distributed in 140 countries.

In addition to peace and disarmament, the Committee's concerns include women's living and working conditions, legal and social issues related to marriage and the family, conditions for maternity and child care, housing, etc. Its right to initiate legislation is stated in the Constitution. The organization has helped to draft a number of basic laws affecting these areas of interest in recent years, including the Fundamentals of Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics on Marriage and the Family, and the USSR Constitution adopted in 1977.

The positions it takes and the proposals it makes on such documents, as well as the direction of its work in international affairs is based on what it hears from women all over the country. The committee has branches at the republican, regional and community level, and at factories, farms and other workplaces. In addition to what comes from these organizations, the headquarters in Moscow receives from 160,000 to 170,000 letters a year, and 16 to 17 thousand women visit the Committee annually.

Ludmilla Nosulya, chairwoman of the Women's Committee at the New Kramatorsk Machine-Building Plant, provided some specific examples of her committee's activities. Their main emphasis is on improving women's working conditions, she said. In a recent instance, the committee found that working with the lathes in one shop was physically difficult for women, and arranged for the women workers to be transferred to a different shop where the work was physically easier, at the same rate of pay. "We have 72 families with anywhere from four to sixteen children," Nosulya told us. "We provide special help for them, financially, in obtaining housing and arranging vacations."

Advances bring new problems, Nosulya noted. Now that women can take partially paid leave of up to a year following childbirth, in addition to the four-month fully paid leave, they may face problems keeping up with the advances in their fields of work. To help overcome this "gap," there are now two to three month special courses which women can take during working hours with no loss in pay, to help them catch up after they return from leave. "Here there is no discrimination against women in promotions," she said. "But the situation is more complicated for women."

Despite the diversity of its concerns, all of the funding for the Soviet Women's Committee comes from the Soviet Peace Fund.

The Committee of Youth Organizations

The Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR (CYO) is an umbrella organization bringing together the public, professional, student, cultural, sports and other organizations of Soviet young people, including the Young Communist League, or Komsomol, which with about 43 million members nationwide, is the largest youth organization.

We talked in Kiev with Anatoly Morgun, chairman of the Ukrainian CYO and his colleague, Alexander Gnedikh, and in Moscow with Pavel Mikhailov, foreign editor of *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, the newspaper published by the Young Communist League. They said that among the activities started by young people and especially popular among them was the campaign to send messages to President Reagan, Prime Minister Thatcher, Prime Minister Helmut Kohl, and other NATO leaders protesting deployment of new US medium-range missiles in Europe. *Komsomolskaya Pravda* participated by publishing a coupon which readers could clip and send, with space for them to write their own message. Some 20 million did so. Regrettably, Morgun said, President Reagan and the US State Department ignored the messages altogether. Prime Ministers Thatcher and Kohl did respond, attempting to justify the move. *Komsomolskaya Pravda* published the replies together with a commentary by Valentina Tereshkova.

In 1983 some 70 million young people throughout the USSR participated in the referendum, "I Vote for Peace."

Mikhailov put the threat of nuclear war and worry about the consequences of the Reagan administration's foreign policy at the top of his list when asked what concerns Soviet young people expressed in their letters to *Komsomolskaya Pravda*.

There are also peace rallies and meetings especially of young people: Mikhailov cited a recent one in Moscow which brought out 150,000 participants.

Youth organizations in the USSR pay special attention to educating their members to have respect for other peoples and other countries, and to reject any kind of racism. An important part of their educational work, as well as a reflection of pride in the role of youth in Soviet history, is their emphasis on keeping alive the history of World War II. In addition to learning first-hand about that time through talks with war veterans, young people and children help to care for the graves of the war dead, and visit their widows and parents to help with their everyday life. When asked whether a problem existed of "building the future looking over one's shoulder at the past," Morgun cited the well-known quotation from the philosopher George Santayana, "Those who do not learn from the past are condemned to repeat it," and observed, "We do not wish to repeat the struggles we have had to go through in our country."

At the time of our visit, the Komsomol and the CYO as a whole were becoming increasingly involved in preparations for the Twelfth World Festival of Youth and Students, which is expected to bring together some 35,000 young people in Moscow in the summer of 1985. "We see this great

event as a chance for young people to get together from all over the world, to express our desire for peace and friendship, and our solidarity against policies increasing the threat of war," Morgun observed. "Our young people are very much interested in the United States, its literature, music, and other aspects of life. They know, too, how young people from your country express a great desire for peace, despite the efforts of the US media to stir up hatred."

The CYO, which was established in 1956 on the basis of the Anti-Fascist Committee of Soviet Youth founded in 1941, pays a great deal of attention to increasing the contacts between Soviet young people and those of other countries, and to ties between Soviet youth organizations and those in other nations. The CYO has contacts with more than 1,350 youth organizations in 140 countries, and participates in a broad range of international meetings and conferences.

The Trade Unions

The trade unions of our countries operate under different social systems. Their positions on many issues are not identical. But we are convinced that it is necessary to discard all prejudices and leave our differences aside when it comes to considering the major problem of our times, that of keeping the peace.

*Appeal of the All-Union Central Council
of Trade Unions (AUCCTU) to the Trade Unions
of Western Europe, October 1982*

The USSR's trade unions comprise the largest public organization in the country, bringing together at present about 130 industrial, agricultural and office workers organized according to their various lines of work. Ever since their first all-union conference in 1918, the unions have participated in international efforts of various sorts for peace and disarmament.

Since World War II much of this work has centered on relations with trade unions in other countries — socialist, capitalist and developing. According to Stephen Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU, the Soviet unions have sought to emphasize certain basic principles in these contacts:

- that in addition to the threat of nuclear catastrophe, the arms race seriously worsens the conditions of life of working people in non-socialist countries by increasing inflation and unemployment and taking money away from social programs;
- that reducing military spending would make it possible to solve many major social problems;
- that claims about arms spending benefiting the economy generally and employment in particular are false;
- that converting military to civilian production meets the needs of working people.

In addition to their participation in international meetings of trade unions, the Soviet trade unions have also participated in all the major international peace conferences, including the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow in 1973, the World Forum of Peace Forces in Moscow in 1977, the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace in Sofia in 1980 and the

World Assembly for Peace and Life in Prague in 1983.

They are also involved in all the important peace activities in the USSR and take the lead in some of them. They are centrally involved in the movements around the "peace shifts" and the honorary work team members which raise money for the Peace Fund.

In February 1982 the Tenth World Trade Union Congress proclaimed September 1 a "Day of Trade Union Action for Peace." Its observance in the USSR includes mass meetings and rallies, as well as peace shifts. In 1983, according to Stephen Shalayev, these activities drew the participation of almost 60 million people, including trade unionists from more than 60 countries who were invited by AUCCTU. Soviet trade unions also organize special peace activities around May Day, and these, too, involved international participation.

The AUCCTU has relations with unions in 145 countries. Over a thousand union delegations from other countries visit the USSR annually, and more than 600 Soviet trade union groups travel abroad.

Organizations of Scientists

Among the USSR's peace organizations are three especially involving scientists, the Pugwash Committee, the Scientific Research Council on Peace and Disarmament, and the Scientists' Committee against Nuclear War.

The oldest of these is the *Pugwash Committee*, which dates back to the beginning of the Pugwash movement in the mid-1950s.

Though our conversation with Academician Vasily S. Yemelyanov took place in the offices of the Peace Fund, of which he is vice chairman, his observations were especially pertinent to the history of Soviet scientists' involvement in international peace activities, and in particular, to the Pugwash movement.

Academician Yemelyanov, a leading nuclear physicist and one of the "grand old men" of the peace movement, has played a part in many phases of his country's history. A Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, he has headed the Academy's Commission on the Scientific Problems of Disarmament for more than 15 years. He is a member of the Peace Committee, the Committee for European Solidarity and Cooperation, the Committee for Solidarity with Countries of Asia and Africa, and the World Peace Council. In 1972 he was elected a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. A Hero of Socialist Labor, he has written many books on the relation of science and peace.

In 1952, the Academician told us, he was in New York to participate in the work of a panel of scientific consultants to the United Nations: "There were seven of us, from seven different countries, and our mission was to consider how to use scientific developments for peace, to create an organizational framework for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy."

Once, he said, he was in Washington, D.C. and happened to meet Cyrus Eaton at the home of the Soviet ambassador, with whom he had been close friends ever since they fought together in the Civil War in 1918-1920. Eaton remarked that "Our people don't understand the difference between

war and a washing machine." He proposed bringing together scientists from different countries to work together over a long period of time, because he felt they "would probably figure out eventually how to stop the arms race," offering to foot the bill for such a meeting at his home in the Canadian village of Pugwash.

The movement was launched by the London Conference, "Nuclear Warfare and the Scientist" in 1955, and the first conference at Pugwash in 1957, which brought together scientists from ten countries. Today the movement unites scientists from 40 nations.

Soviet scientists began in 1955 to publicize and build support for the Einstein-Russell Manifesto, the program document of the Pugwash movement. Since then, Soviet scientists have taken part in all Pugwash conferences, two of which (1960 and 1969) were held in the USSR, and in most workshop activity.

Another body associated with the USSR Academy of Sciences is the *Scientific Research Council on Peace and Disarmament*, founded in 1979 by the Academy together with the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and the Soviet Peace Committee. Its mission is to provide a single center to stimulate and coordinate comprehensive research on peace, disarmament and international cooperation, and to promote application of the results in practice. The Council is also charged with promoting cooperation with foreign scholars and research centers working in the field of international relations, and with public figures, politicians and cultural workers active in peace work.

Its 80-plus members are outstanding Soviet scholars in natural and social sciences, Communist Party leaders, public figures, members of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and of the constituent republics, heads of mass organizations, cultural workers and prominent Soviet journalists. They are organized in five sections: Problems of Disarmament, Peace and Disarmament and the Developing Countries, Collaboration among Scientists in Studies on Problems of Peace, Scientific and Technological Progress and the Fostering of Peace, and Problems of Peaceful Coexistence and Strengthening of Detente.

The Council has participated with other Soviet organizations in sponsoring a number of international forums, and has published many studies, monographs and brochures. Council members serve as expert advisers to Soviet delegations attending many types of international meetings. The Council also summarizes and disseminates information on the work Soviet scholars are doing in the peace and disarmament field, and collects information on the work of scholars in other countries, for the use of all interested Soviet research centers and public organizations.

More recently organized is the *Scientists' Committee for Peace, Against the Nuclear Threat*. We talked with its vice chairman, Professor Sergey P. Kapitsa, who heads Moscow University's Institute for Physical Problems. A national conference of scientists in May 1983 brought together about 500 people, including a number of foreign participants, he said. The conference established a number of subcommittees to provide expertise on various peace-related problems. Since then the Committee has organized a

number of meetings in different parts of the country to bring scientists together at the local level. Study groups have been set up to deal with issues such as space warfare, nuclear winter, and weapons of special concern to developing countries.

Committee members participated in the conference on nuclear winter held in Washington, D.C. in the fall of 1983. Kapitsa told us that the one-hour discussion by scientists from both countries broadcast immediately after the conference over a Washington-Moscow TV hookup, was aired during prime time on a Saturday evening and reached some 60 to 70 million people in the USSR.

"Soviet people are better informed on nuclear war issues than are people in the US, but in a less emotionally charged way," he said.

Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War

There can be no winners in a nuclear war. Illusions about winning such a war are dispelled by scientific estimates of the possible number of short-term and long-term casualties. Armed with professional knowledge of medical consequences of a nuclear conflict, physicians state that all of humankind would be made its victim.

*Nuclear War: The Medical & Biological Consequences:
Soviet Physicians' Viewpoint, 1984*

In the fall of 1979, Boston cardiologist Dr. Bernard Lown started a dialogue with Soviet colleagues which planted the seed that has grown into the organization called International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), with affiliated committees in well more than 40 countries.

Dr. Lown called for a conference of US, Soviet and Japanese physicians to arouse world public opinion about the medical consequences of nuclear war. Following a conference of US physicians and researchers in the spring of 1980, a meeting in Geneva, Switzerland in October of that year brought together Drs. Lown, James Muller and Eric Chivian from the US, and Soviet physicians Yevgeny Chazov, Leonid Ilyin and Mikhail Kuzin. Their conviction that a broad-based, representative international movement of physicians for the prevention of nuclear war should be established led to the First Congress of IPPNW in March 1981, which brought together physicians from eleven countries. Its unanimously adopted appeal to the leaders of the US and USSR began, "Nuclear war would be a catastrophe with medical consequences of enormous magnitude and duration for both involved and uninvolved nations."

In 1981 national conferences were held in many countries, and by year's end organizations had been founded in 31 countries. The Soviet committee was established in July of that year, and soon attracted participation by some 20,000 physicians and medical researchers.

The Soviet group has concentrated on a scientific evaluation of the possible consequences of nuclear war, and on disseminating this information to the people of the Soviet Union and the world. Its study of the effects of use of neutron weapons was submitted to the Independent Commission

on Disarmament and Security headed by Sweden's Olof Palme, and its study of possible consequences of a nuclear war in Europe has been discussed at various international conferences. The Soviet committee has participated in such international activities as the special session for medical researchers convened by the Pontifical Academy of Sciences in Rome, and the World Health Organization committee of experts which prepared a study on the effects of nuclear war on health and health services. It has also played a major role in each of the four IPPNW conferences to date. Every conference has sent a message to the leaders of the US and USSR; in each case the current Soviet president, Brezhnev, Andropov, or Chernenko has responded positively, while in no case has the US president responded at all.

Among the committee's achievements within the USSR is the decision of the Supreme Soviet to add the following statement to the oath taken by every Soviet physician: "Conscious of the danger posed by nuclear arms, to fight tirelessly for peace and for the prevention of nuclear war." The committee has also gathered the signatures of hundreds of thousands of Soviet physicians on the "International Physicians' Call for an End to the Nuclear Arms Race" adopted by the 1983 IPPNW conference.

All four IPPNW conferences, and the information developed by Soviet researchers, have been covered extensively by Soviet TV, radio and print media. Two Studio 9 TV programs on the work of the international committee have drawn audiences of about 150 million. In addition, various programs involving both US and Soviet physicians, including a round-table discussion in 1982, and documentaries on the IPPNW conferences, have drawn great attention among television viewers in the Soviet Union.

Religious Organizations

As in the United States, religious organizations in the USSR are significantly involved in peace activities, and religious leaders are among the leading figures in the Soviet peace movement.

Islam and the Russian Orthodox Church have the largest number of adherents among the USSR's religious bodies. The spectrum of religious activity also includes Buddhists, a few other Orthodox churches, Jews, Roman Catholics and several Protestant denominations. All are engaged in peace and religious activities not only within the country but on the international scene as well.

While we were in Moscow, we talked with Metropolitan Filaret, who heads the international department of the Moscow Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church.

On the day we were to meet with him, we were ushered into a spacious, simply furnished meeting room which contrasted greatly with the rich profusion of images and ornamentation we had seen in Russian Orthodox churches. We took our places around the solid oak table. After some moments the door opened and in strode a tall, sturdy, broad-shouldered man wearing a simple gray cassock ornamented by a single jeweled cross. He greeted us with dignified and hearty friendliness, his eyes radiating calm, confidence, and that steady concentration which misses nothing.

The Russian Orthodox Church's position on peace, and its active role in initiating peace activities, stem from the experiences of its thousand-year history, the Metropolitan said. The church, together with the people, has had to defend against invasions since the Middle Ages—from the west in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, from the east during the Mongol and Tatar attacks, from the west again with Napoleon. In the last hundred years there have been the Russo-Turkish war, the Russo-Japanese war, and the two World Wars. "By now," he said, "we have a certain anti-war immunity." In the history of the church, schism was accompanied by wars. The ecumenical movement is thus now making great efforts to increase unity among churches, and religious people feel any conflict, tension or injustice in the world especially sharply.

"Our entire society takes a position supporting peace, and the Soviet people through the state determine the USSR's peace policy," Metropolitan Filaret emphasized. "Peace lays the essential basis for solving any sort of problem, internal or external. This is most definitely a Christian principle."

The Russian Orthodox Church was one of the founding participants in the Soviet peace movement following World War II, just as it had participated wholeheartedly in defeating the Nazis during the war, the Metropolitan said.

In 1952 the church initiated the first interreligious conference for peace in the USSR, which brought together in Zagorsk leaders of Christian, Islamic, Buddhist, and Jewish denominations within the country. This conference urged all religious bodies around the world to unite with their peoples in the struggle for peace. The second such conference in 1969 again brought together Soviet religious leaders, this time together with some 40 foreign guests.

In addition, the Russian Orthodox Church's own international activities, beginning with its enthusiastic support for the World Congress of Peace Forces in 1949, includes participation in the Christian Peace Conference, the Conference of European Churches, and the World Council of Churches. In 1977 it helped to host the First World Interreligious Conference, "Religious Workers for Lasting Peace, Disarmament and Just Relations Among Nations," and in 1982 a similar conference brought together about 600 religious leaders from one hundred countries. The 1982 conference attracted great public interest, but "the bottom line is what these religious leaders do in working with their own flocks," the Metropolitan observed.

There have also been many meetings between Russian Orthodox leaders and clergy from other nations, including the US. In addition, the Church has participated in all the broad international peace congresses and conferences of the 1970s and 1980s.

The Metropolitan said the Russian Orthodox Church "feels comfortable" working within the socialist system. Relations between church and state are complex: within a profound process of democratization taking place in Soviet society generally, there is a process of working out the objective relations of church and state.

In the early years of the Soviet state, Metropolitan Filaret said, the new

government confronted a church which had been partly a department of the tsarist government and had had many privileges. When some religious leaders opposed the revolution, it appeared the entire church was in opposition. Over the years, the approach to religion has changed. The 1936 Constitution only recognized religious rights, while the 1977 Constitution guarantees them.

"Now everything is not ideal from our standpoint," he said, "and probably it is not from the government's standpoint either. The law does not foresee certain aspects of church activity as practiced, for example, in the United States." For example, he indicated, the Russian Orthodox Church considers its inability to have parochial schools a restriction. "However," he emphasized, "we cannot say there is intentional restriction of the rights of the faithful."

"The notion that the Soviet state is atheist is incorrect," Metropolitan Filaret said. "The Soviet state is a union of people who are and who are not members of the Communist Party. The Party has its own ideology which is atheist. That is why religious people cannot belong to it, though we agree with its theoretical and practical approaches to practical life and moral issues. According to our conviction, all these humanitarian principles are Christian in their nature and origin."

A similar pattern of involvement in peace activities is found among other religious groups in the USSR. Peace, and solidarity with the struggles of people around the world for justice and equality, are part of the fabric of religious observances and activities of congregations. Religious leaders and lay people take part actively in the work of the Peace Committee and Peace Fund at various levels. The denominations also participate in international conferences along religious lines and in the broad international peace congresses, as well as emphasizing peace and disarmament issues in their contacts with denomination members in other countries. Leading clergy hold leading positions in the Peace Committee and Peace Fund.

The Association of Soviet Lawyers

The Association of Soviet Lawyers was founded in 1964 as the successor to a lawyers' organization established in 1926. Its members participate in activities around international security, peace and disarmament. The Association has organized and helped to host meetings such as the international conferences in Moscow in 1977 and 1981 on law, issues of peace and international cooperation. It is also very active in the work of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers on issues of peace, as well as economic and social equality of developing countries. It maintains relations with lawyers' organizations in many countries, including the US. In the late 1970s it conducted an exchange of visits with the American Bar Association.

The Soviet Committee of War Veterans

Founded in 1956, the Committee of War Veterans brings together the efforts of Soviet war veterans for peace and disarmament and for educating Soviet young people about war, peace and international issues. Committee

members and activists write on disarmament issues for the Soviet and foreign press, and appear on TV and radio programs. The Committee emphasizes ties with international organizations such as the International Federation of Resistance Movements, international committees of former concentration camp inmates, and world conferences of war veterans for disarmament. It sent a delegation to the first international conference of liberators of Nazi concentration camps, held in Washington, D.C. in October 1981.

The Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation

The Committee for European Security and Cooperation was formed in June 1971. Its purpose was to provide a way through which Soviet people could express their views concerning the negotiations leading up to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which brought 35 nations including the US and Canada together in the summer of 1975 to conclude the Helsinki Agreement. Since then it has provided a focus for the expression of Soviet public opinion concerning the ongoing conferences stemming from that agreement.

The Committee is a member of the International Committee for European Security and Cooperation headquartered in Brussels, Belgium, and participates actively in its work. It participates in international conferences on various types of East-West cooperation as well as meetings dealing with security issues, and sponsors international conferences in the USSR on these topics. It receives about 40 foreign delegations a year for discussions, and sends a similar number of delegations abroad. The Committee has also published a number of books and monographs in the cultural and disarmament fields, including *The Threat To Europe*, which it issued together with the Scientific Research Council on Peace and Disarmament in 1981.

The Soviet United Nations Association

The United Nations Association was established in 1956, and is a member of the World Federation of United Nations Associations. Its goal is to popularize the aims and principles of the United Nations, to promote world peace, understanding and international cooperation. In addition to participating in the worldwide and regional conferences of the World Federation, the Soviet UN Association hosts and participates in bilateral conferences and discussions with delegations from its counterpart associations in other nations, including the United States.

It promotes support of the UN among Soviet people by arranging mass meetings in support of important UN actions, and by publicizing statements on major international issues.



A Peace Lesson on September 1, 1983 in Middle School #239 in Moscow.

Soviet Peace Committee

The Soviet Communist Party's Role in the Peace Movement

The material for this book is primarily based on first-hand observation from my trip. This concluding chapter is derived from secondary sources, but is needed in order to give a balanced view of the structure of the Soviet peace movement.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY, THE GOVERNING PARTY OF THE Soviet Union, plays a leading role in developing the Soviet Union's foreign policy, and in the work of the peace movement. However, the way it does this is often misunderstood in the West. Some basic information on how the CPSU functions, both within itself and in the society in general, is important in understanding the Soviet peace movement.*

At the time of the most recent party congress in 1981, the CPSU had about 17.5 million members, out of a total population of somewhat over 266 million. More than 43 per cent of these were workers, a similar number were technical, scientific, health, education or creative workers, and almost 13 per cent were peasants. Members come from the more than 100 Soviet nationalities.

A common misconception is that the party directs all aspects of Soviet social and economic activity. Actually, it does not administer the society, but influences social and economic activity through ideological, political and organizational leadership. The party's ideological activity consists of promoting the teachings of Marxism-Leninism among the people. Political leadership involves projecting programs in all areas of domestic and foreign policy and proposing ways to accomplish them. Organizational leadership involves the activity of Communists who work for the implementation of party policy in all state and mass organizations.

*This chapter provides only the briefest sketch of the party's functioning; readers wishing a more comprehensive discussion may wish to refer to *Peace, Plan & Progress: The 26th Congress of the CPSU*, edited by Marilyn Bechtel, David Laibman and Daniel Rosenberg, NWR Publications, Inc., 1981.

According to Professor Seraphim Sernichenko of the USSR Academy of Social Sciences:

Party organs do not appoint officials of state institutions and other organizations. No party body can force a congress, a conference, a meeting or an elective organ of a mass organization of the working people to decide or act a certain way. The party has no administrative right to do that. But neither is it a detached onlooker. The central committee and the local party organs have their own opinions of the questions considered by public organizations. These opinions are put forward by Communists at meetings of those organizations.

Party organs may recommend the placing of personnel; but who will occupy one post or another in state and public organizations can only be decided by the members of the organizations. In most cases these recommendations are considered, for both the party and the public organizations want to see management in the hands of the most capable and qualified people. (*Peace, Plan & Progress*, p. 178.)

The CPSU shares with the trade unions, the Young Communist League and other public organizations the right to initiate legislation, according to Sernichenko. The party and its central committee may also discuss and make recommendations concerning draft legislation on key matters.

The role of the Communist Party in the government is shown by the proportion of party members among deputies to the soviets, or legislative bodies: at the time of the 26th congress there were about one million Communists among the 2.3 million deputies to the soviets at all levels from local bodies to the USSR Supreme Soviet, the country's highest legislative organ.

How the CPSU Makes Decisions

In '84 *Yearbook USSR*, Novosti Press Agency describes the way the CPSU functions within its own ranks as follows:

The basic principle of the party's organizational structure and activity is democratic centralism. . . .

Democracy within the party is ensured by the following principles: all leading party bodies are elective; party leadership is collective; party leaders are accountable to rank-and-file members; party work is made public; all party members enjoy equal rights and have equal responsibilities before the party.

Centralism means discipline and unity. The decisions and directives of higher party bodies are binding on the lower party organizations; the minority must submit to the decisions of the majority.

Under the party rules every member has the right to criticize and to express his opinion on any question. When a decision is adopted, however, it is binding on all party members.

At the party congresses which are held at least once every five years, delegates from all over the country discuss all aspects of domestic and foreign developments. Actually, discussion in preparation for these congresses is not limited to party members: the entire country participates in discussing the Draft Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for the coming five year plan period. Before the 26th Congress, 121 million people took part in a discussion of the Draft Guidelines for 1981-1985 and for the Period Ending in 1990, during a two and a half month period.

In addition to thorough consideration at party conferences and congresses in all parts of the country, there were hundreds of thousands of meetings of trade union organizations and the Young Communist League. The Draft Guidelines were published in the newspapers, and newspapers and other publications regularly presented readers' letters on all topics. The most important suggestions in such discussions are incorporated into the Draft Guidelines, and other valuable recommendations are sent directly to government agencies, scientific institutions and party organizations. Such discussions also take place before the adoption of major legislative acts. In recent years these have included the 1977 Constitution, the Law on Work Collectives passed in 1983 and the Guidelines for the Reform of General and Vocational Schools passed in 1984.

The CPSU's Peace Platform

At each party congress the general secretary presents a report on behalf of the central committee, in which all aspects of domestic and foreign policy are discussed. The report includes an assessment of the state of relations with different countries and groups of countries, and projects the directions the CPSU would like to see these relations take during the coming five years. It is interesting to survey briefly the projections made at the last three congresses.

The 24th Congress, in 1971, set the following objectives:

- to eliminate hotbeds of war in Southeast Asia and the Middle East and to promote a political settlement there based on respect for the legitimate rights of the states and peoples subjected to aggression; to make repudiation of the threat or use of force a law of international life.
- proceeding from the recognition of the territorial changes in Europe resulting from World War II, to bring about a radical turn toward detente and peace on the continent, including convocation of an all-European conference; reaffirmation of the Warsaw Treaty Organization members' readiness to annul their treaty simultaneously with that of NATO, or as a first step, to dismantle their two military organizations.
- to conclude treaties banning nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons; to work for an end to all testing of nuclear weapons; to promote creation of nuclear-free zones; to convene a conference of the five nuclear powers on nuclear disarmament.
- to step up the struggle to halt the race in all types of weapons, including convening a world conference to consider all aspects of disarmament; the USSR stands for dismantling foreign military bases, and for reducing armed forces and arms in areas where military confrontation is especially dangerous, above all in Central Europe.

- to work out measures that would reduce the likelihood of accidental or deliberate armed incidents that could lead to international crises and war; the USSR is prepared to negotiate agreements to cut military spending, especially by the major powers.
- the UN decisions to end the remnants of colonial rule must be carried out in full; manifestations of racism and apartheid must be universally condemned and boycotted.

The 25th Congress, in 1976, projected the following:

- work to end the arms race and for disarmament, including completing a new USSR-US agreement to limit and reduce strategic weapons as well as international treaties to completely terminate nuclear weapons tests, to ban and destroy chemical weapons, to ban development of new types and systems of mass annihilation weapons, and to ban modification of the environment for hostile purposes.
- launch new efforts to reduce armed forces and arms in Central Europe; work for systematic reduction of military spending, assure the earliest possible convocation of a world disarmament conference.
- work to eliminate the remaining hotbeds of war, especially through a just and lasting Middle East settlement.
- do everything to deepen detente and develop mutually beneficial cooperation between states; work vigorously for full implementation of the Final Act of the European Security Conference.
- work to ensure Asian security based on joint efforts by Asian countries.
- work for a treaty on non-use of force in international relations.
- work to eliminate all vestiges of colonial and racial oppression, as well as infringement of equality and independence of peoples.
- work to eliminate discrimination and barriers in international trade, and all manifestations of inequality and exploitation in international economic relations.

At the 26th Congress, in 1981, the programs put forward at the two previous congresses were cited as being a "trustworthy compass." In addition, the central committee's report included the following objectives and proposals:

- to convene a special international conference for a just and lasting Middle East settlement.
- an international agreement on securing peace in and around the Persian Gulf, and assuring the sovereign rights of the countries of the region and their communications with the rest of the world.
- negotiations for a settlement of international aspects of Afghanistan's situation, either separately or as part of talks on the Persian Gulf region.
- continued support for proposals to make Africa, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, the Indian Ocean, Europe and the Mediterranean nuclear-free zones and/or peace zones.
- an agreement among participants in the European Security Conference not to be the first to use either nuclear or conventional weapons against each other, that the existing military blocs in Europe and elsewhere should not admit new members and that no new blocs should be set up.
- convening of a European conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe.
- a moratorium on deployment in Europe of new medium-range nuclear missiles by the NATO countries and the USSR; to freeze existing quantitative and qualitative levels of these weapons, including the US forward-based nuclear weapons in this region.
- to enlarge the confidence-building measures — advance notification of military maneuvers by ground troops and invitations to observers from other countries — already established by the European Security Conference, to include

naval and air exercises as well as large-scale troop movements, and to enlarge the scope of these measures to include the entire European USSR, if the West extends its zone comparably.

- to continue USSR-US talks to limit and reduce strategic nuclear weapons on the basis of equality and equal security, preserving all the positive element achieved so far; the USSR believes all other nuclear powers should join the talks at the "appropriate time."
- the USSR is prepared to negotiate limitation of weapons of all types, and in particular proposes talks to limit deployment of the Trident submarine and its Soviet equivalent, and to ban modernization of missiles or development of new ones for these submarines.
- to set up a competent international committee composed of the most eminent scientists from different countries, which would inform the world's peoples about the vital need to prevent a nuclear catastrophe.
- to call a special meeting of the UN Security Council with the participation of the top leaders of its members (and top leaders of other countries as well), in order to search for "keys" to improving the international situation and preventing war.

This section of the report, delivered by general secretary Leonid Brezhnev, concluded with the following sentence: "Not war preparations that doom the peoples to a senseless squandering of their material and spiritual wealth, but consolidation of peace — that is the clue to the future."



Soviet Peace Committee

A Peace Meeting of doctors in the N.A. Semashko First Clinical Hospital in the city of Baku, Azerbaizhan.

Summing Up

IN THIS TIME WHEN THE DANGER OF NUCLEAR WAR IS INTENSIFYING rapidly, it is important for everyone in the US who is concerned about peace and survival to strive to understand the thoughts and feelings of the Soviet people and their leaders. Whatever opinion one may have about aspects of life in the USSR, accurately assessing Soviet attitudes on international questions is essential if we are to be fully effective in promoting the pursuit of peace by our own government.

As I think about the experiences I have had in the USSR, some basic features seem clear to me.

- No one in the Soviet Union — whether a national leader or a person-in-the-street or anyone in between — wants war. This feeling is strongest as it involves nuclear war, and it extends to the wish to create conditions where war could be banished as a means of settling international disputes. The World War II experience serves in the present as a powerful “anti-war inoculation.”
- At the same time, the Soviets insist on the principle of equality and equal security in all negotiations and agreements, and believe that in the absence of such agreements keeping their military capabilities basically equal to those of the West is an essential aspect of preserving peace.
- The Soviets see a complex relation between peace and national liberation, in which peace cannot be lasting until a just political and economic order has been secured for all the world’s peoples, and they will never halt their support to people striving for liberation. On the other hand, at certain times and places, this support must be weighed against the possible hazards of nuclear war breaking out.
- Most Soviet people are committed to work actively for peace in one way or another. The ways they do this are varied — they may be individual or group activities, they may relate to a person’s work life or to what a person does on his/her own time. There is plenty of room for individual imagination and creativity.
- The organizations involved in peace activities are also varied, and

function independently of the government and the Communist Party.

- Peace organizations and activities are funded by the contributions – large and small – of individuals and groups throughout the USSR.
- Most Soviet people believe their government correctly reflects their views on peace questions, and feel they have many avenues through which they can participate in shaping those views.

These fundamental features form a basis for evaluating the various statements about the USSR made by US government agencies and the mass media. Sorting myth from reality was never more important than it is today.

And finally, if you possibly can, go and see for yourself. Draw your own conclusions, and put them into practice. That is the best way to help make sure we all continue to have an earth on which to live.

Literature List

Title	Date Printed	Price	# of Pages
Basic Brochure	1982	free	Fold Out
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The National Council is vitally concerned with the consequences to both peoples of continued arms escalation, which in our country costs jobs and siphons funds from social needs, contributing to the economic crisis which falls most heavily on Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Asian-American, Native American Indian and other oppressed peoples and which inhibits the progress of people throughout the world...

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